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No 67

Death of the Missionary Buettner. p. 39.

MISSIONS

OF

THE MORAVIANS

AMONG THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

INHABITING THE MIDDLE STATES OF THE UNION.

Written for the American Sunday School Union, and revised by the Committee of Publication.

AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE United Brethren, or as they are more commonly called, the Moravians, whose missionary labours among the Indians of North America will form the subject of this book, are a very ancient body of Christians, and date their origin from the Greek church in the ninth century. At that time, the kings of Bulgaria and Moravia, being converted to the faith, through the ladours of Methodius and Cyrillus, two Greek monks, they were together with their subjects, united in communion with the Greek Church. Methodius was their first bishop, and for their use Cyrillus translated the scriptures into the Sclavonian language. During several centuries, which preceded the reformation, the Moravians, in common with several other sects, which still preserved the

true spirit of the gospel, were exposed to the fury of persecution. At the Reformation, their correspondence with Luther and Calvin and others, brought on a persecution, which, with their own religious disputes, threatened entirely to destroy their existence. In 1575, they obtained an edict for the public exercise of their religion; but in the civil war of 1612, which raged in Bohemia, they were again persecuted, and completely dispersed. One colony of these, which retained the faith in its purity, was in 1722, conducted by a brother, named Christian David, from Fulneck, in Moravia, to Upper Lusatia, where they put themselves under the protection of Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf, and built a village on his estate. The Count showed every kindness to the poor emigrants; but being a zealous member of the church established by law, he endeavoured to prevail upon them to unite with it. This they declined; and the Count, on a more minute inquiry into

their ancient history and tenets, became himself a convert to the faith and discipline of the United Brethren. Through his means the church was once more built up, and from his friendship with Potter and Secker, the one Archbishop of Canterbury, the other Bishop of Oxford, the Parliament of Great Britain, after mature deliberation, were brought to acknowledge the United Brethren to be a Protestant Episcopal church. Their eminent benefactor Zinzendorf died in the year 1760.

That which particularly characterizes the Moravians, and holds them up to the attention of others, is their missionary zeal. In this they are superior to any other body of people in the world. Their missionaries are all volunteers; for it is an inviolable maxim with them to *persuade* no man to engage in missions. Their zeal is calm, steady, and persevering. They carry their point by address, and the insinuations of modesty and mildness,

which commend them to all men and give offence to none.

Their enterprising piety is shown by the amazing extent, and fearlessness of their labours, in such remote parts of the globe, and amongst the most savage of mankind. They carried the gospel to Labrador and Greenland. They also went to the East Indies, to the Russian part of Asia, and among the Hottentots of Africa. They attempted to propagate the truth in Guinea, among the slaves in Algiers, in the island of Ceylon, and in Egypt. Some of their most effective missions were among the negro slaves of the West India islands. South America also was not neglected by them; and their wonderful zeal, perseverance and devotion in the propagation of the Christian faith amongst the Aborigines of our country, their various successes, and their submission to the rod of persecution and failure, will form the interesting subject of the ensuing portion of this work.

HISTORY

OF THE

MORAVIAN MISSIONS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

As early as the year 1727, the Moravian brethren began to take the conversion of the heathen into the most earnest consideration. After much serious deliberation, the first missionaries were sent from the church of the brethren, in 1732, to St. Thomas, an island in the West Indies, under the Danish government. Others were sent to Greenland; but the labours and exertions of these truly excellent men among the North American Indians, particularly those described in the History of the Indians inhabiting the middle States of the Union,* was an attempt of no small difficulty, and will chiefly occupy our attention in this volume.

When the followers of Schwenkfeld

* This history was designed as a part of the present work, but the subject being found too extensive, is published in a separate volume by the American Sunday School Union.

were driven by persecution from Germany, such of them as resided ever since the year 1725, in Berthelsdorf (a large village in Upper Lusatia, belonging to Count Zinzendorf,) resolved to go to Georgia, and the Count endeavoured to procure a free passage and kind reception for them, from the trustees of the colonies in Georgia, residing in London. They therefore left Lusatia in 1734, but on arriving in Holland, they changed their minds, and went to Pennsylvania. The trustees of Georgia, however, not willing to break off their engagement with Count Zinzendorf, offered him a tract of land in Georgia, to be cultivated by the brethren. The offer was accepted, and some missionaries resolved to go to preach the gospel to the Creek, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Indians.

The first company set out from Herrnhut, in November, 1734, conducted by John Toeltschig and Anthony Seyffart, attended by the wishes and prayers of the whole congregation. Zinzendorf gave

them written instructions—that they should submit themselves to the guidance of the Almighty in every situation, preserve liberty of conscience, avoid religious disputes, always to bear in mind that they were called to preach the gospel to the Indians, and to endeavour, as much as possible, to earn their own bread.

In London they met with the Rev. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, who had, some time previous, joined the congregation of the Brethren. He was commissioned to treat with the trustees of Georgia, and Gen. Oglethorpe, then governor of that province. The worthy general procured all the money necessary for the equipment of the missionaries, and the trustees granted them houses in the town of Savannah, till they could settle and cultivate a district given them on the river Ogeeche. Spangenberg went with them, and they arrived in Georgia in the spring of 1735: their number was afterwards increased by a larger company, which fol-

lowed in the summer, conducted by David Nitschman. These brethren settled in Savannah, and God blessed their industry in such a manner, that, in a short time, they not only procured a sufficient maintenance for themselves, but even repaid the money advanced for them in London. The government were very willing to promote the exertions of the Brethren, which appeared so advantageous to the state, and with the reputation of peaceful, quiet, and pious people, they began to teach and preach to the Aborigines, and had many reasons for believing that their efforts were successful.

In 1737, the Rev. Peter Boehler joined the colony in Georgia, and Spangenberg, after establishing the mission in Georgia, and visiting the mission in St. Thomas, returned to Pennsylvania, where he remained till 1739. Here he was first made acquainted with the several Indian nations, but especially the Iroquois, or Six Nations, through Conrad Weisser, a justice of the

peace, and interpreter to the government of Pennsylvania. This man had been sent by the governor and proprietor of Pennsylvania, in the winter of 1736, to settle a dispute between the Iroquois and the Indians of Virginia. During his journey of nearly 500 miles, he suffered greatly on the road; but happening to meet two Indians, they bid him take courage, adding, that what a man suffered in body, cleansed his soul from sin. These words made an impression on Weisser, who related them to Spangenberg, and the brethren immediately became desirous to instruct these blind, yet thinking heathen in the truth.

Meanwhile, the prosperous colony in Georgia received an unexpected check, for the neighbouring Spaniards commenced a war against the English in Georgia, and the brethren refused to take up arms, having, from the very beginning, stipulated that they were to bear arms on no consideration. They were obliged to leave their flourishing

plantations and joined their brethren in Pennsylvania. Some time after this, an offer was made to them by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, to assist him in his establishment in Georgia, and John Hagen was sent thither, but his efforts proved unsuccessful. Much consternation prevailed about that time, for it was believed that the Indians had determined to kill one European for every Indian who had died of the small pox, and to clear the country of the whites.

On his return to Germany, Spangenberg gave such an account of the deplorable state of the poor Indians, that many offered to go on this mission, and one of them Christian Henry Rauch, was sent, in 1739, from Marienborn to New York, where he arrived July 16, 1740. He knew nothing of the Indians, nor did he even know where, and in what manner he should seek for them. In New York, he unexpectedly met with the missionary Frederick Martin, from St. Thomas, by

whom he was introduced to some pious people. These all informed him of the many well-meant, but vain attempts which had been made to christianize the Indians, and that they were so addicted to drunkenness, that no European could dwell among them.

Some days after he heard that an embassy of Indians had arrived at New York. He immediately went in search of them, and was rejoiced to find that some of them could speak a little of the Dutch language. These savages were ferocious in their manners, and very much intoxicated. Having waited till they were sober, he spoke to two of them, named Tschoop and Shabasch, and asked them without ceremony, if they wished a teacher. On their replying in the affirmative, brother Rauch immediately made up his mind to accompany them, but by some accident they missed him, and proceeded on their journey.

He soon learned that they lived at Shekomeko, an Indian town, about twenty-

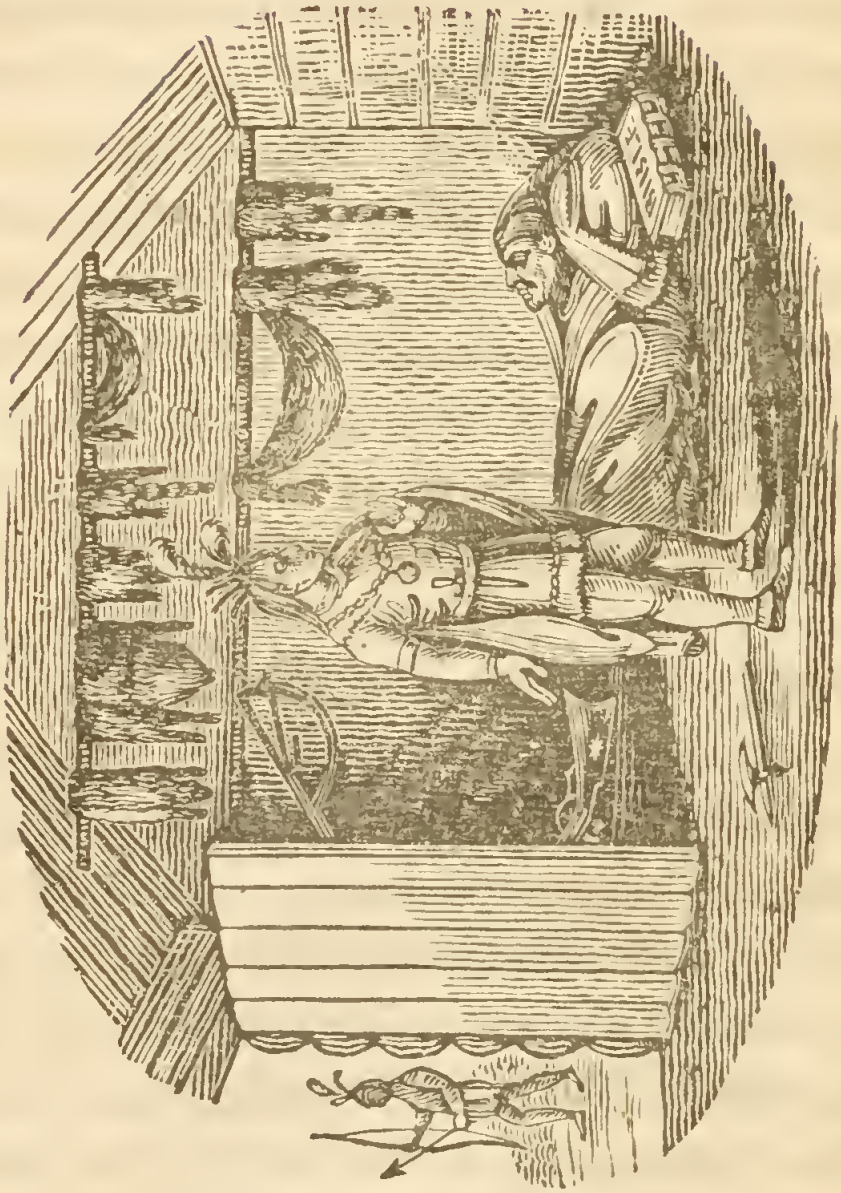
five miles east of North River, on the borders of Connecticut, and proceeded thither immediately, where he arrived August 16, and was received after the Indian manner with much kindness. Rauch at once addressed them: "I come hither from beyond the great ocean, to bring the glad tidings, that God, the Creator, so loved us, that he became man, lived 30 years in this world, doing good to all men, and at last, for our sins, was nailed to the cross, and died for us, that we might have everlasting life. On the third day he rose again from the dead, and ascended into Heaven; and though we cannot see him, he is always present, and desires only to show his love to us." They listened with attention, but he found, to his sorrow, that this doctrine, which was so new to them, excited derision, for they at last openly laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged, brother Rauch continued to preach to them, travelling from one Indian town to another, mocked and laughed at wherever

he went, and suffering great hardships, because no one would receive him into his house. But his zeal and perseverance were, in the end, rewarded, for several began to listen to the truth, and Tschoop, the greatest drunkard amongst them, and afterwards Shabasch, were both convinced of their folly, and set about the work of reformation.

About this time, some white people, fearing that their interests would be injured, if the Indians became Christians, began to stir them up against Rauch, as one who only sought to deceive and mislead them, by which they were so irritated that they threatened to shoot him, and he was obliged to seek shelter in the house of a farmer of the name of Rau, to whose family he became school-master. Rauch still continued, however, to make daily visits to Shekomeko, though at the hazard of his life. False accusations were circulated concerning him, in all quarters. It was even said, that he only intended to kidnap

their young people to sell as slaves. Even Tschoop and Shabasch gave him up, and several white people sought an occasion to beat and abuse him. This he avoided by great caution and mild deportment. Some threatened to hang him up in the woods; others endeavoured to get the Indians to murder him in a drunken frolic. Once an Indian ran after him with his hatchet, and would doubtless have killed him, had he not stumbled and fallen into the water. Shabasch avoided him; but Tschoop, whom he cordially loved, was so hostile, that he sought an opportunity to shoot him.

The Indians, at last, began to admire his perseverance and courage, and changed their minds. He frequently spent half a day in their cottages, ate and drank with them, and even lay down to sleep amongst them, with the greatest composure. This last fact made a great impression upon them, and especially upon Tschoop. Once, observing the missionary lying in his hut, fast asleep, he confessed that he was struck



with the following thought. "This man cannot be a bad man ; he fears no evil, not even from us, but sleeps comfortably." In a short time after, they were convinced that all the accounts spread by the whites against the missionary, arose from malice, and the confidence and friendship between Rauch and the Indians were restored. Tschoop was the first to wipe away the tears from the eyes of his former friend, and Shabasch was soon after reclaimed. The Indians of Shekomeko, and the neighbouring towns, attended the meetings regularly, and a very visible change was effected in their lives and manners.

In June, 1741, Rauch paid a visit to the Brethren in Pennsylvania, whither all who had been obliged to leave Georgia, had retired, and by desire of Mr. Whitefield, settled on a piece of land purchased by him for the establishment of a negro school. The foundation of the house, which he himself had actually laid, was called *Nazareth*, and thence the town

was afterwards named. The Indians here, threatened to murder the brethren, and they were compelled to leave this place, in 1740. After this, a respectable merchant offered to sell them a piece of land ten miles south of Nazareth, in the forks of the Delaware, and Bishop David Nitschman, arriving about that time, with some brethren and sisters from Europe, they resolved unanimously to buy the land. In this place they built a settlement, and called it *Bethlehem*.

About the time of Rauch's visit to Bethlehem, many Delaware Indians of those parts were not well disposed; but one of the brethren, Christian Froelich, had succeeded, by gentleness and kind acts, to secure their attachment to himself and attention to the gospel. Rauch soon after returned accompanied by Nitschman, who laboured with him; and on his return, gave a very favourable account of what he had seen in Shekomeko.

In the mean time Martin Mack, one of

the brethren from Georgia, joined them; and not long after several others arrived from Europe to assist in the mission. Rauch was faithfully employed, both in instructing his host's family and in converting the savages. At the end of the year 1741, Count Zinzendorf came to Pennsylvania, and soon after Buettner, who had recently arrived from Europe, visited Rauch at Shekomeko, and was delighted at the wonderful fruits of his labours. In a few days Rauch and Buettner left Shekomeko on a visit to the brethren in Pennsylvania, accompanied by three converted Indians, Shabasch, Seim, and Kiop. Tschoop, to their great regret, (being lame) was not able to go with them. The 11th Feb. 1742, was an important day, for on it Rauch administered baptism to three Indians, calling them Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and some time after he had an opportunity of performing the same duty for his dearly beloved Tschoop, whom he called John. In April of the same year,

the sacrament was for the first time observed at Shekomeko. These things raised the astonishment of the savages, numbers repaired to listen to the gospel, and the difference between the countenances of the believing Indians, and the others, was remarked by all who saw them.

CHAPTER II.

In 1742, Count Zinzendorf, who ardently desired the conversion of the Indians, undertook three different journeys amongst them. He started from Bethlehem with his daughter Benigna, eleven brethren and three sisters. In the course of this journey, the count perceiving a party of Indians on the opposite bank of a shallow river, immediately waded over, but was received by them with such marked coolness, that he returned with a heavy heart. An Indian followed him, however, and brought

the cheering tidings that they wished his whole party to cross over to them. He preached the gospel to them at their own request, and this journey was of consequence, because it tended to establish a better acquaintance and friendship with the Indians, and the Indian guide whom he had employed, and a great many inhabitants of different places became sincere converts.

In August of the same year, the Count, with Conrad Weisser, began a second journey, in the course of which he met a deputation of the six nations, returning from Philadelphia, and was extremely desirous of preaching to them. They were very wild, and had that day shot one of their own people. At first they seemed not well disposed; but the wife of one of the deputation just then entering the hut with a child in her arms, it ran to the Count and began to play with him. This little circumstance was followed by an exchange of friendship between the brethren

and the six nations, which was confirmed by presents of wampum, according to the Indian manner. The importance of this covenant was considerable, for the influence of the nation was so great, that they could easily have obstructed the progress of the gospel. During the Count's abode in Shekomeko certain articles were drawn up, and the first regular congregation of

believing Indians, consisting of ten presons, was established in North America.

Towards the end of September the Count set off on his third journey, to visit the Indians who lived on the banks of the Susquehannah. Martin Mack, Conrad Weisser, and two Indian converts, Joshua and David, accompanied him. After much fatigue and many hardships, they arrived on the 28th of September at Shomokin, a populous Indian town. One day while they were residing here, the brethren had assembled to pray; but the Indians having just then a feast, and making a great noise, the Count sent word to Shikellimus one of their captains, that they were going to call upon their God; upon which they all observed profound silence.

The Count proceeded along the river as far as Wajonick, then inhabited by the Shawanese, a depraved and cruel tribe, always at war with the whites, and their hearts seemed wholly shut against the truth. It appeared afterwards that these

savages had conspired to murder him and his whole company. But God in mercy prevented it; for Weisser, who could not possibly know any thing of the wicked design, being detained in a neighbouring town beyond his appointed time, became so uneasy, that he hastened back to Wajonick, and arrived just in time to discover and prevent the execution of the plot.

At the end of the year 1742, the number of baptized Indians in Shekomeko was thirty-one. About this time the brethren became more convinced of the necessity of caution; for many tribes bore irreconcileable hatred to Europeans. For these reasons, suspicions might arise in the minds of the Christian magistrates, that the brethren were secretly in league with the hostile Indians. Soon after, the worthy nobleman Count Zinzendorf, having done all in his power towards the conversion of the heathen in North America, returned to Europe in the beginning of 1743.

CHAPTER III.

The flourishing state of Shekomeko called for the assistance of more labourers, and several missionaries and their wives joined Rauch at that place. The others spent most of their time in visiting various towns, the inhabitants having repeatedly desired the brethren to come and instruct them. Some of these Indians informed the missionaries, that certain white people of the town of Freehold had offered them rum, if they would kill Rauch. The brethren always made it a rule to earn their own bread. They also lived and dressed in the Indian manner, so that in travelling to and fro they were taken for Indians.

About this time the missionary Mack and his wife went on a visit to Pachgatgoch about 20 miles from Shekomeko, in Connecticut, and took up his abode, by

invitation, with the Captain of the town, whose whole family was awakened. The savages received him with great joy, and said, that he and his wife must love them very much to travel so far, at a bad season of the year, to visit them. From this place, he went next to visit Potatik, seventy miles further inland. He was expressly invited by the captain of this place, who had formerly threatened to tomahawk or shoot any one who should dare to speak a word of Jesus Christ. On the day after his arrival an English gentleman visited the missionary, and kindly offered him a lodging in his house, representing the danger of constantly living with the Indians. But brother Mack answered, that having come hither merely on their account, he wished rather to stay with them. Some Indians overhearing this conversation, were greatly surprised, and told the rest, who all expressed thanks to the missionary and his wife in the kindest terms; and when they set out on their return to Pachgatgoch,

the inhabitants could hardly make any reply for weeping. Brother Mack and several of the other brethren continued frequently to visit the different places, and always with great satisfaction, to behold the advance of the truth amongst them.

The missionaries at Shekomeko now began to think it was their duty no longer to withhold the sacrament of the communion, and it was accordingly administered with great solemnity to the converted Indians for the first time. The new chapel at Shekomeko was now finished and consecrated. It was a building 30 feet long, and 20 broad, and entirely covered with a smooth bark. The congregation usually met every forenoon to hear a discourse. Every evening a hymn was sung. A monthly prayer day was established, on which accounts were read of the progress of the gospel in different parts of the world.

But the pious labours of the missionaries created many enemies, especially among

those whites who had been accustomed to make the dissolute life of the Indians, and chiefly their love of liquor, subservient to their own gain. These people, were induced by a clergymen of another persuasion, to join in the hostile measures which were taken against the brethren; and the consequence was that the missionaries were branded with the names of papists and traitors, and brothers Mack, Sharr, and Pyrlaells, were taken up, and dragged about the country for three days, till the Governor of Connecticut, hearing the case, honourably dismissed them.

Meanwhile the missionary Rauch had visited the country about Albany, on the North River, and on the 23d August arrived at Freehold, where he found a number of Indians gathered around a dying person. As soon as the patient heard that a teacher had arrived from Shekomeko, he exhorted his countrymen to hearken to his words, and he bequeathed to the missionary his hut. Brother Rauch having

made known to them the object of his visit, the Indians held a council, and sent him word, that they had resolved to entreat him to dwell with them, and instruct them in the knowledge of God; for that they had long wished to become like the people in Shekomeko. Much opposition to the gospel, however, was shown by many at first, but some of the most savage became at last zealous Christians, and one of them publicly burnt his idols. The brethren continued to preach the gospel in all quarters with the most unremitting ardour, and to make themselves acquainted with the various Indian tongues. For all their labours they thought themselves amply rewarded by the success of the mission in Shekomeko; where at the close of the year 1743, the congregation of baptized Indians consisted of 63 persons, exclusive of those in Pachgatgoch, and a great number of constant hearers, some of whom were powerfully awakened.

CHAPTER IV.

Hitherto the labour of the brethren had met with no opposition of any consequence, and in the first months of the year 1744, the church had rest, and was edified. But suddenly a persecution arose, which threatened to put an end to all their hopes and usefulness. Among the numberless false reports which were propagated concerning the brethren, the most dangerous was, that they were allied to the French in Canada, that they fomented the disputes which then took place, and intended to furnish the Indians with arms to fight against the English. These falsehoods were spread about with so much industry, that the whole country was alarmed and filled with terror. It became the duty of the magistrates to examine into the tenets and views of the brethren, and to ascertain what their real character and business were. The

only fault which could be found after much scrutiny, was, that the brethren were unwilling to take an oath, although they were perfectly willing to assent to every thing contained in the oath, as also to submit to the punishment inflicted upon perjured persons, if they were found to act contrary to their assertion made by *yes* or *no*. In one of their examinations, they were called upon in open court to prove that they were privileged teachers. Buettner, produced his written vocation, and his certificate of ordination, duly signed by Bishop Nitschman, adding also that the Protestant church of the Moravian brethren had been declared by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be an episcopal and apostolical church. All these evidences being rejected, Buettner said in court to the judge, "Well, sir, since nothing will suffice, we submit, and you have power to dictate our punishment. We are subject to the magistrates, and can not oppose them, nor would we if we could. We rather choose patiently

to suffer." This address appeared to have some good effect, for they were dismissed for that time by the justice Mr. Beckman, and even invited by the latter to dinner; but they were desired to appear again at Pikipsi, (now Poughkeepsie,) in the October following, by order of the Governor of New York.

Persecution and prejudice continued to run very strong against them. They were detained in town to await the final decision of the Governor; and at last when he dismissed them, with a command, that on their return home they should live in such a manner that no suspicions should arise, the secretary was obliged to give them a written certificate of acquittal, to secure them from the violence of the mob.

It now appeared very plain to every candid observer, that the accusations against the brethren arose either from misconception or malice. But the enmity of their adversaries was not extinguished. They adopted other measures, and now endea-

voured to make them take oaths, or to leave the country altogether. This scheme succeeded. They obtained an act of assembly in New York, dated October, by which all suspicious persons were enjoined to take the oath of allegiance, and in case of refusal, to be expelled the province. Another act positively forbade the brethren to instruct the Indians. On the 15th December, the sheriff and three justices of the peace arrived at Shekomeko to enforce these acts, and summoned the brethren again to Poughkeepsie; where the acts were read to Rauch and Mack, Buettner being too ill to attend. The latter wrote to Bethlehem, "We are either to depart, or to incur a heavy penalty. They threaten to seize upon all we possess. We have but little, and if they take away that little, then we shall even yet have as much left as our Lord had, when on earth." Amidst these heavy trials the brethren adhered to the scriptural advice,

quietly to wait for the salvation of the Lord.

Meanwhile Bishop Spangenberg, to whom the affairs of the brethren in North America had been entrusted, arrived in New York. His first step was to visit the persecuted congregation at Shekomeko, where he found much reason to rejoice at the course of the church, and the declarations of the believing Indians. Two of the baptized Indians, who had deviated, were about this time restored. Buettner wrote thus of one of them to Spangenberg, "My heart followed Jonathan wherever he went." It being resolved to go in pursuit of him, the good Rauch set out upon this errand. When Jonathan perceived him coming, he was frightened, and stood like one thunder-struck. Rauch accosted him affectionately, offered forgiveness and peace, and entreated him to return. The heart of Jonathan was touched. "Are you come," said he with emotion, "merely to seek me? Have you nothing else to do

here? Does Buettner remember me still?" Like a lost sheep, the reclaimed Indian returned to the fold. Buettner ran to meet him, and received him as the father received his prodigal son.

CHAPTER V.

The faithful Buettner, whose constitution was broken by hardships, and his mind weighed down by the persecutions and afflictions of the church, was about this time removed to a better world. On his death bed he exhorted the sorrowing Indians, who stood by his side, to continue faithful to the end; he desired them to sing a hymn, during which he gently breathed his last. The Indians wept over him as children over a beloved parent. His remains were interred with great solemnity at the burial ground at Shekomeko, and an affectionate memorial was inscribed upon his tomb-stone.

The death of Buettner and the departure of the other missionaries for Bethlehem, involved the congregation at Shekomeko in gloom; but the arm of persecution was still uplifted. David Zeisberger, who had been from boyhood devoted to the cause of the heathen, was travelling with the missionary Frederick Post, into the country of the Iroquois, in order to become better acquainted with the language. The enemies of the mission soon accused them of treacherous views, and accordingly they were arrested in Albany, and after much abuse, brought to New York, and confined in prison. In this sad condition, they still found some friends, who visited and relieved them. After repeated examinations they were found innocent of every charge, and dismissed, having been seven weeks in their confinement.

When Mack, with several of the sisters, and some small children, returned from Shekomeko to Bethlehem, they were arrested on their route and detained by the

enraged justices, as a company of traitors, and even after they were set at liberty by the providential arrival of Colonel Loewenstein, they were insulted by the mob with curses and reproaches, and had to suffer much in the open street, from the cold and rain, before they were permitted to proceed on their journey.

In the April following, two persons, a man and his wife, were baptized in Bethlehem, and called Gottleib and Mary. They were the first fruits of the missionary labours among the Delaware nation. Being both of the royal family, their high-born relations were greatly displeased, and as they could not persuade them to return, determined to take them away by force. Accordingly thirty-six persons, among whom were several young warriors, came to Bethlehem with this view; but being kindly treated, and plentifully served with meat and drink, Gottleib and Mary partaking also of their repast, their minds were softened, and when they opened their

commission and told them that they had heard they had become slaves to the whites, Gottleib seized the occasion to exhort them with great energy. Some time after he was entreated by a message to come and instruct his people, and had soon the joy to see his own brother baptized, and called Joachim.

A synod being called at Bethlehem this year, the Indian congregation at Shekomeko were desired to send a deputy. Nothing could be a stronger proof of the sincerity of the change wrought amongst them, than their wish to have their children educated at Bethlehem. For the love of the Indians towards their children is so excessively strong, that they cannot bear to have them out of their sight; but now, they besought the brethren to take their offspring, and educate them in the fear of the Lord.

In consequence of the numerous obstacles to all Christian communication with the congregation at Shekomeko, it was

resolved to propose that the Indians there should remove to some eligible spot in Pennsylvania. The plan was first to place them near Bethlehem, and then to remove them to Wajomick, or Wyoming, on the Susquehannah. For this purpose Zeisberger, Weisser and another set out for Onondago, where the great council fire of the Iroquois, (to whom the country about Wajomick belonged,) was kept. They were well received by the Iroquois, who renewed the covenant they had made with Count Zinzendorf, and received free permission to remove the congregation.

The Indians at Shekomeko, however, did not remove till an event happened, by which they were compelled to do so. The white people, at last, came to the resolution, that they would drive the believing Indians away by main force, under pretence that the ground belonged to other people. They accordingly seized upon the land, appointed a watch to prevent all visits from Bethlehem, whither some of

the emigrants had retired, and thus reduced the congregation of Shekomeko to a situation truly distressing.

CHAPTER VI.

In the beginning of this year, 1746, Bishop Cammerhof came from Europe to assist Spangenberg, and they both exerted themselves for the relief of Shekomeko. His excellency George Thomas, governor of Pennsylvania, had given orders that all the Christian Indians who took refuge in that state, should be protected. But no persuasions could bring them to fall in with the plan for their settlement at Wajomick. Their persecutions soon after were so severe, that many fled from Shekomeko to save their lives, and forty-four persons accepted the invitation from the brethren, and built cottages near Bethlehem. This small settlement, called Fried-

enshuetten, was only a temporary convenience, and not long after a tract of land was purchased near the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lehigh, beyond the Blue Mountains, about 30 miles from Bethlehem, and the same distance from Wajomick. Here the missionary Mack, and some Indian assistants, marked out a new town, which they called Gnadenhuetten, or Tents of Grace, whither many of the Indians from Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch repaired.

Soon after, Shekomeko was almost utterly forsaken, and the converts dispersed in different places. Gnadenhuetten now became a very pleasant and regular town. The church stood in the valley, on one side, the Indian houses forming a crescent upon a rising ground, and on the other was the house of the missionary, and the burying ground. Rauch and Mack were the first who resided here, but some of the brethren still occasionally visited the old settlements, being anxious to pre-

vent the spark of truth, yet glimmering in those places, from being entirely extinguished.

The brethren perceiving, that, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, God blessed their labours, their desire to spread the gospel daily increased. In the foregoing year, Mack and his wife went to Shomokin, (now called Sunbury,) a town belonging to the Iroquois. Here he laboured faithfully for some months, with little success, frequently an eye-witness of horrid abominations, and several times in danger of being murdered by drunken Indians. His return to Bethlehem was also attended by many difficulties, especially to his wife, who was in delicate health, for they were oftentimes obliged to creep up the steep mountains upon their hands and feet.

Soon after this, that dreadful and fatal disease, the small-pox, broke out among the Indians, first at Bethlehem, and then at Gnadenhuetten, and eighteen persons

died, among whom were several useful and sincerely lamented converts. Of this number was the faithful John, whose Indian name, the reader will recollect, was Tschoop. He died a sincere Christian. Towards the close of this year, Bishop Spangenberg and other brethren paid a visit to Wajomick, where they were received with uncommon cordiality.

The internal regulations of Gnadenhuetten being all established, the congregation continued almost uninterrupted, in a pleasing and regular course till 1754. In the mean time, the brethren from Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten continued to visit the different towns. Mack and his wife went to superintend the mission at Shomokin, where they found much cause to lament the wicked and vile practices of the inhabitants.

In January, 1748, Bishop Cammerhof and brother Powel visited Shomokin. They suffered so much on this journey, from the quantity of ice, water and snow,

that they were frequently in danger, and their journal cannot be read without astonishment; but the Lord helped them through all difficulties. The chief object of this journey was to make some regulations, by which the gospel might be more easily propagated among the Iroquois, Shomokin being a central town. The brethren, however, were assailed by many troubles. Their house was frequently injured by violent storms of thunder and rain; sometimes the fruits of the earth were destroyed by hail; earthquakes shook their dwellings, and the fury of drunken Indians at times menaced their lives. They were also alarmed by parties of warriors of different nations, then at war with the Catawas, passing to and fro with prisoners, whom they treated with shocking cruelty. The brethren, because they were whites, were often in danger of being murdered in their riots.

CHAPTER VII.

The years 1748 and 1749 were distinguished by the return of many lost sheep, and a particular blessing followed Bishop Johannes Von Watteville, who visited North America in September, 1748, and preached the gospel at the different settlements. He also, in the course of his journeyings, renewed the covenant made between Shikellimus, chief of the Iroquois, and Count Zinzendorf, of which we have already made mention. The former sent a very kind message to the Count, who, as has been said, had long since returned to Europe. Watteville, with several others then visited Shekomeko, and it was truly a melancholy spectacle. They found every thing destroyed, but the burying ground. A few faithful Christians were still there, but the greater number had backslidden. The missionaries were not discouraged.

They did all that lay in their power to re-assure the penitent and reclaim the wanderers. Soon after they went to the Indian town of Meniolagomeka, (situated in what is now called Luzerne county, near the Susquehannah,) where, from that time, a regular establishment of Christian Indians was formed.

In May, many of the Indians of Gnadenhuetten, went to Bethlehem, to see three Christian Greenlanders, who were there. A boy and girl, also, from Berbice, in South America, were at Bethlehem, so that the Brethren had the joy to behold heathen of three different nations and languages, assembled under their fostering care. But the town of Gnadenhuetten was the object of admiration to the whole country, and the increasing number of its inhabitants afforded a convincing proof of the power of the gospel to change the hearts of men. In the year 1749, several persons died, among whom was Shikellimus, the friend of Zinzendorf, and head

chief of all the Iroquois Indians. Brother Zeisberger attended him in his last moments, which were distinguished by faith and hope.

The most remarkable occurrence in the year 1750, was the journey of Cammerhof and Zeisberger to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois, for which purpose they had previously obtained a passport from the governor of Pennsylvania. They were well received by the Nantikoke tribe, and were conducted by an Iroquois guide, to Tioga, about one hundred and fifty miles up the Susquehannah, the inhabitants of which were surprised to find that the brethren were acquainted with the head chiefs of the Six Nations. They reached Onondago on the 19th of June, and were received with great cordiality. A council was called, consisting of twenty-six venerable Indians, and after much consultation and many ceremonies, a covenant was entered into, by which the brethren and Iroquois became brothers, and two

missionaries were to live either in Onondago, or some other town, that they might learn the language and preach the gospel. They thanked God for the success of their application, and after having travelled about 1600 miles, arrived on the 17th August at Bethlehem.

In 1757, a very severe loss was suffered by the death of the excellent Bishop Cammerhof, who was universally beloved. There was so much sweetness and benevolence in his character, that the wildest savages held him in great esteem. It is related that on one occasion an Indian had become so exasperated against him for reproving his wickedness, that he followed him into the woods, either to beat him violently or put him to death; when overtaking him, he found him so mild and friendly, that he repented of his design, listened to the admonitions of the bishop, and was, not long after, baptized by the very man whom he had purposed to des-

troy. He died deeply lamented, and his grave was watered by many tears.

CHAPTER VIII.

Bishop Spangenberg, who had gone back to Europe, returned, to the great joy of all, in 1752, and resumed his labours at Gnadenhuetten. He had known this congregation from its infancy, was esteemed as a father, and knew how to guide its members with that patience, wisdom, and gentle restraint, best adapted to their character and circumstances.

A very large deputation from the Nantikoke and Shawanese nations, consisting of 107 persons, arrived at Gnadenhuetten on the 15th July, for the purpose of establishing a covenant with the brethren. Of this important transaction, notice was immediately sent to the government in Philadelphia. This was the more ne-

cessary, as calumniating reports had been circulated in the public papers, concerning the late Bishop Cammerhof's visit to Onondago. Bishop Spangenberg waited upon the governor himself, and gave a full and satisfactory explanation; showing in the most unequivocal manner, that the brethren were, from every public and private motive, attached to the government. This declaration had the desired effect.

In July 1751, Zeisberger and another set out for Onondago, agreeably to the treaty by which the great council permitted two of the brethren to reside and learn the language. They were treated with the utmost kindness, and every facility granted them of accomplishing their plans.

Agreeably to a promise made by the former deputation, another deputation of Nantikokes and Shawanese arrived at Bethlehem in March 1753. But these frequent visits were found to have a bad effect, and really did more harm than good to the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten. Not

only the people at large became fond of forming alliances, but even some of the Indian brethren began to think of their heathenish customs. Some even forsook the congregation, but it was observed that they did not become enemies, but retained a sincere love for the brethren. A number of these were afterwards brought back. But the severest troubles arose from a proposal which had been made by the deputation, to transplant the congregation to Wajomick. The fact is, the savages had determined to join the French against the English, and they wished first to secure a retreat for their countrymen, the Indians of Gnadenhuetten, that they might the more easily fall upon the whites. With this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikokes from Wajomick into their neighbourhood, to make room for the Christian Indians. They supposed this step would not be disagreeable to the brethren, since the believing Indians of Shekomeko had, nine years ago, obtained

leave from the great council at Onondago, by means of a treaty with Bishop Spangenberg, to move to Wajomick. The consequence was, that many of the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten departed, being led away by Abraham and Gideon, who were the most active in promoting this affair. The faith of the latter, formerly called Tadeuskund, had always been unsteady; being like a reed shaken by the wind. He had been nominated by the Delawares as their chief.

The loss to Gnadenhuetten, however, was soon after supplied by the believing Indians of Meniolagomekah, who had been banished thence by the proprietor, and to their inexpressible joy were received at Gnadenhuetten. Soon after, from the impoverished state of the soil, and other circumstances, it became necessary for the inhabitants to remove to the opposite side of the Lehigh, in which labour, they were assisted by the brethren of Nazareth and Bethlehem. Unanimity

and diligence contributed so much to the progress of this work, that the first twenty houses were inhabited by the 4th, and the foundation stone of the new chapel laid on the 11th of June. The dwellings were soon after completed, and proper regulations made. They were placed in such order, that the Delawares occupied one side and the Mohikans the other. The old land on the opposite side of the river, still continued to be cultivated by the brethren.

Towards the end of June, brother Mack feeling a strong impulse, visted the emigrants at Wajomick. To accomplish this visit, owing to the bad season of the year, he was obliged to encounter many dangers. But he felt himself rewarded by finding them in a better state than he expected, and anxiously desirous for a missionary to come and reside amongst them.

This year, 1754, Zeisberger returned to his post at Onondago, and a council held

soon after his arrival deserves notice. They were called upon to weigh the causes of the diminution of the number of Indians, which was alleged by the Nantikokes, who brought forward the subject, to proceed entirely from drunkenness, and it was proposed not to touch a drop of rum for four years. But the proposal was never carried into effect, and Zeisberger and his companion were so annoyed by their drunken frolics, that they obtained leave to build a small house for their private use. The brethren earned their livelihood by various occupations, though they often suffered from want, and the Indians could not help expressing their astonishment, that they should submit to live in poverty merely out of love to them.

CHAPTER IX.

In the beginning of 1755, the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten were involved in deep troubles. They received a curious message from Paxnous, an old Shawanese chief, and Tadeuskund, the import of which was, that if the believing Indians did not remove to Wajomick, the Iroquois would clean their ears with red hot iron. Meanwhile the brethren ascertained that the removal of the Indians to Wajomick, was only the plan of the Oneida tribe, with some Delawares and Mohikans, and falsely attributed to the Iroquois in general. While they were still in great perplexity, not knowing what course to take, they received another message, commanding in a severe tone, the baptized of Gnadenhuetten for the last time, to go to Wajomick. Upon this, the greater portion determined to abide and place their reliance on the Lord.

A period of rest ensued, during which several of the brethren took occasion to visit different settlements. At this time all was peace at Gnadenhuetten; but suddenly the scene changed. A cruel Indian war, occasioned by the contest between the English and French, burst into flame, carrying horror and desolation throughout the country. About five miles from Shomokin, the French Indians murdered fourteen white people and burned their dwellings. Every day disclosed new scenes of barbarity, and all Pennsylvania was in uproar and consternation. Notwithstanding these appalling dangers, the brethren made a covenant together, to remain undaunted in the place allotted them by Providence.

But heaven had ordained an awful visitation. On a sudden the mission house, on the Mahony, which stood where Gnadenhuetten was before its removal across the river, and which at that very time was inhabited by a number of the brethren,

was, late in the evening of the 24th November, attacked by the French Indians, burned, and eleven of the inmates butchered. The family were at supper, when

hearing a great noise of the dogs barking, brother Senseman went to the back door to see what was the matter. On the report

of a gun, several ran to open the door. The Indians stood with their pieces pointed, and as soon as the door opened fired, by which several were wounded, and Martin Nitschman killed. His wife was wounded, but fled with many others to the garret, whither the infuriated savages pursued them, but not being able to break open the door, they set fire to the house. In the despair, terror and confusion, a few providentially escaped, by leaping from the roof and windows, and flying to some distance. The rest were all burnt alive. Of those who thus perished, seven were brethren and four sisters. This melancholy event, however, proved the saving of the congregation of Gnadenhuetten on the other side; for they heard the tumult, and saw the flames, and were enabled to make their escape.

On the 25th of November, at 3 o'clock in the morning, Zeisberger arrived at Bethlehem, and related to the whole congregation the dreadful calamity, which was listened to with deep affliction, but at

the same time mingled with resignation to the will of God. Indeed, the brethren thought they could trace the special hand of a kind providence in this disastrous event, which, in permitting one evil had graciously averted a much greater. The enemies of the gospel and of the brethren had been at work, and by cunning and malicious reports, had propagated a strong belief that the brethren were really connected with the French and the hostile Indians. So strong was this belief that the public papers were filled with these falsehoods, and the brethren never appeared in any part of the country except at the hazard of their lives. In the Jerseys, a public declaration was made with beat of drum, that Bethlehem should be destroyed, and the most dreadful threats added, that in Bethlehem, Gnadenhuetten, and other places, a carnage should be made, such as had never before been heard of in North America. But after the massacre of the brethren became generally known, the eyes of the people began to be opened,

and hundreds of persons visited the settlement and saw the mangled and burnt corpses of the brethren and sisters. Thus their innocence and the untruth of the reports which were circulated against them, were made manifest to all, and the wisdom of heaven saw fit to adopt this plan, though painful, to save his people from the more extensive destruction with which they were threatened.

The situation of the brethren had now become very critical. The savages insisted upon their taking up arms against the English, threatening to murder them in case of refusal. Moreover, a set of fanatics sprung up, who demanded the total extirpation of the Indian tribes, lest God's vengeance should fall upon the Christians for not destroying them, as the Israelites by his command had destroyed the Canaanites of old. These people were greatly exasperated against Bethlehem, on account of the protection and assistance given to a race of beings, deemed by them accursed. But the brethren continued to

put their trust in God, who they knew was able to deliver them from all their enemies, and their courage in remaining in their settlements proved a comfort and protection to the neighbours. If they fled, the whole country to Philadelphia would have been exposed to the murderous savages. The brethren, however, neglected nothing which was necessary to their safety and defence; hundreds of persons took refuge within their intrenchments, and government considered their settlements as a bulwark for the defence of the country. The savages continued to lay waste the neighbourhood, and the flames from plundered villages in the vicinity could often be distinctly seen at Bethlehem. The wretches even approached very near the place, lurking about with torches, and trying to set fire to the thatched roofs, by shooting wadding on fire upon them. Once, even in the day time, a party of them came to attack a large field, in which about forty sisters

were picking flax, whom they intended to carry off as prisoners. But perceiving a strong guard of Indian brethren with their guns ready, they retreated, while the congregation thanked God that they had not been obliged to shed the blood of their enemies, which they certainly must have done, had they attacked the women and children. Not long afterwards, the greater part of the savages, at the instance of one of their chiefs, who was friendly to the brethren, returned home, and the few who remained, not thinking themselves a match for the guard, dispersed.

CHAPTER X.

At this period, the Indian congregation had rest, but as a reward was offered by the English for every Delaware scalp, and the governor of Pennsylvania had warned the Christian Indians of the danger they

would incur by straying far from home, they could no longer supply themselves with any food by hunting.

The savages continued their depredations, and the governor of Pennsylvania published a proclamation, by which he declared war against all Indian nations who should persist in hostilities, inviting all those who would lay down their hatchets, to meet for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace. The confidence placed in the brethren was so great, that both English and Indians wished to hold the congress at Bethlehem; but at the earnest entreaty of the brethren, who knew too well the evil consequences of these riotous assemblages, the place of meeting was appointed at Easton. On their journey thither, the captain of the savages, who had attacked and murdered the brethren on the Mahony, was killed by Tadeuskund, in a violent dispute. No final agreement was made at Easton, and many roving parties of the very Indians

who had attended the congress, and been treated with kindness, continued to commit murders whenever they got a good opportunity.

A large number of Christian Indians had now been residing a long time at Bethlehem as guests, and it was thought expedient to make a new settlement, and the government giving them land for the purpose about a mile from Bethlehem, the first house was built on the 10th of June, 1757, and the place was called Nain. The troubles of war, however, greatly impeded the progress of the work, and it was not till the following October that their chapel was consecrated, to the great joy of the believing Indians. The same regulations were made at Nain, as before at Gnadenhuetten.

The French having burnt fort Duquesne, abandoned the place, and the English occupied it, it forming now the site of the flourishing town of Pittsburg. After this the whole scene of the war changed, and from the beginning of 1759, neither Penn-

sylvania nor the neighbouring provinces were disturbed by the Indians. This caused universal joy in all the settlements, and public thanks and praises were offered up to Almighty God, by all the brethren.

The number of inhabitants at Nain increased so fast, by the return of many who had strayed during the troubles, that it became necessary to divide the congregation. With this view, 1400 acres of land were purchased, behind the Blue Mountains, where a new settlement was begun, and called Wechquetank. The town was completed on the 26th of June, 1760. Bishop Spangenberg went thither frequently, and a continual intercourse was kept up between this place and Nain.

In 1761, a report of war was again circulated, which filled the whole country with fear and dread. Tadeuskund also, returning from Philadelphia, brought the sad news that war would soon break out again, and that the Indians ascribed it solely to the whites, and their rum trade.

However, the troubles ceased for the present, and peace and order were restored. Soon after a baptized Indian of the name of Augustus, and his wife Augustina, who had both been seduced by Tadeuskund, the brother-in-law of Augustus, visited Nain, confessed their errors, and were readmitted into fellowship with the congregation.

In the year 1762, Bishop Spangenberg returned to Europe. The pain the Indian congregation felt, at taking leave of this beloved and respected servant of the Lord, was very great. From the year 1736, God had blessed his labours in North America.

Nothing could be done as yet to serve those baptized Indians with the gospel, who had retired to the Ohio. Brother Post chose to live about 100 miles beyond Pittsburg, in Tuscarora town, intending to begin a mission among the Indians there. The brethren wished him all success, and upon his sending to Bethlehem

for an assistant, who might have an opportunity of learning the Delaware language, brother John Heckewelder offered to go thither, and soon made good progress. The mission, however, failed.

CHAPTER XI.

At the commencement of this year, 1763, all was peace and prosperity, and the congregations at Nain and Wechquetank were in a most flourishing state. Nothing occurred to damp the joy of the brethren, except the death of Tadeuskund, who was burnt in his house at Wajomick, without giving any proof of repentance. In May, Zeisberger went up the Susquehannah as far Machwihilusing, or Wyalusing, where an awakening had taken place.

But in the midst of all this joy, Zeisberger was unexpectedly called to Bethlehem.

The flame of war had again broke forth. Several hundred white people had been murdered by the Indians near the lakes and on the Ohio. They had begun to make incursions into Pennsylvania. The fanatics of whom we have already spoken, revived their furious doctrines, and declared that all Indians, without exception, should be put to the sword. At Nain and Wechquetank the alarm was so great, that they humbly entreated the governor of Pennsylvania to extend his protection. Accordingly some companies of soldiers, dressed like Indian warriors, were sent to protect the frontiers, and went to the neighbourhood of Nain and Wechquetank. But it so happened, that what promised to ensure their safety, proved a source of inexpressible distress. Four strange Indians from the Ohio, pretending to wish to hear the gospel, visited the congregation. They proved afterwards to belong to a band of murderers, who were meditating an attack upon the country, but were desirous of

first removing their friends and relations from Wechquetank. Finding so many soldiers stationed about, they were obliged to retreat, but not without leaving many suspicions as to the nature of their correspondence. In August, an Indian named Zachary, and his wife, were put to death by some of the soldiers, who, naturally supposing that his four brothers living in Wechquetank, would revenge his death, became still more uneasy with regard to all the inhabitants of that place. A party of Irishmen had declared in a rage, that if a single white person should be murdered in the neighbourhood, the whole Irish settlement would rise in arms and kill all the inhabitants of Wechquetank.

While things were in this dreadful state, the savage Indians actually attacked an Irish settlement, eight miles from Bethlehem, and killed several persons. This melancholy event filled the congregations of Nain and Wechquetank, and their missionaries, with great consternation; both

the savages and whites being now their enemies. On the same day a party of outrageous Irish freebooters, came to the latter place, fully intending to murder all the Indians there, and were with the greatest difficulty prevented from executing their horrid purpose.

No time was now to be lost. To postpone flight would have been folly, and to assist their escape wagons were sent to them from Nazareth, where, after many dangers, from which the protecting hand of God alone delivered them, they arrived in safety.

In the mean time Nain was besieged on all sides. The savages killed most of the New England people living in Wajomick, or Wyoming. This increased the fury of the white people against the Indians in general, and the Christian Indians of Nain could no longer move from their settlement without imminent peril. In this awful situation, they held out for four weeks, adopting every measure necessary for their

security, yet not knowing at what moment to look for an attack, and ignorant whether it would first proceed from the exasperated white people, or the savage Indians, who were equally their enemies.

On the 19th of October, a harmless Indian, of the name of Renatus, was seized as the murderer of one of the Irish settlers, and his person being even sworn to by the widow, he was dragged to Philadelphia and imprisoned. This report, which was founded in falsehood, spread far and wide, and the rage of the whites rose to such a pitch, that an express arrived from Philadelphia, bringing an order, that all the baptized Indians of Nain and Wechquetank should be brought to the city for protection from the authorities.

It was an affecting sight to behold these poor persecuted people, proceeding patiently upon this sad pilgrimage, and not knowing what fate might await them. The sick, the aged, and the little children were conveyed in wagons, and the rest on foot.

The roads were heavy from rain. Some were exhausted from fatigue. And they were compelled to suffer the malice of the white people along their route, who loaded them with abuse and cursing. When they at length reached the barracks in Philadelphia, where, by order of government they were to be lodged, the soldiers forcibly refused them admittance, they were detained in the street for five hours, and the mob which gathered round them reviled them, charging them with all the outrages committed by the savages, and threatened to kill them on the spot; which they certainly would have done, had the Indians returned evil for evil.

To extricate them from the fury of the misguided mob, it was resolved to conduct them from Philadelphia to some place of safety. As they passed through the streets, thousands followed like ravenous wolves prowling around sheep, till they reached Province Island, about six miles below the city, where with the assistance of their

missionaries, they settled as well as circumstances would permit.

While the persecuted congregation were returning thanks to the Almighty for their safety, a deed of horror was perpetrated in the village of Conestoga by a party of fifty-seven monsters from the town of Paxton. These wretches are commonly known by the name of the "Paxton boys." They attacked a party of inoffensive Indians, who had long lived quietly among the white people, and butchered fourteen of them. The rest fled to Lancaster, where the magistrates protected, and lodged them in the work house, a strong building and well secured. They were, however, followed by the murderers, who marched into the town at noon day, broke into the workhouse, and though the Indians begged their lives on their knees, yet these barbarians cruelly murdered them all, throwing their mangled bodies into the street. They then departed with a dreadful shout of victory, threatening that the Indians in

Province Island should share the same fate.

Proclamations were issued against these outrages, but the people generally were so excited that little respect was shown to the government. Some of the ringleaders even appeared before the governor's door, and openly bade him defiance. The rioters became more numerous and daring, and both in Paxton and other parts of the county of Lancaster, many hundred persons agreed to go to Philadelphia, and not to rest till all the Indians taken under the protection of government were massacred.

CHAPTER XII.

The government now resolved to send the persecuted Indians to the English army by the way of New York. Preparations were made, and a party of seventy

Highlanders, under Captain Robertson, appointed for their escort. In all places, but especially in the towns through which their path lay, the mob insulted the Indians; but they arrived safely at Amboy, where two sloops were ready to convey them to New York. They were just ready to go on board on 11th of January, 1764, when strict orders came from New York, forbidding a single Indian to put his foot on their territories. Information was immediately sent to Philadelphia of their situation, and a new guard of 170 men from General Gage's army was sent to convey them back. During their route they suffered dreadfully from cold, for it was the depth of winter. Near New Brunswick they were in great danger in passing over the ice, and the infirm and aged were obliged to creep over the frozen rivers upon their hands and feet. At last they arrived in Philadelphia, and were lodged in the barracks.

Large bodies of rioters now marched

towards the city, declaring they would not rest till all the Indians were delivered up to them. The magistrates resolved to repel force by force. The guard was doubled, the cannon planted, and the citizens, among whom were even some young Quakers, took up arms to defend the unhappy Indians. On the 4th February, intelligence was received of the approach of the rioters. The whole city was in an uproar. The heavy cannon were discharged, and the poor Indians, who had never heard such large pieces of ordnance, were excessively terrified; for they stood so near the building that the windows were broken by the shock. The rebels, however, did not venture to approach.

Soon after these alarms, some persons were deputed from the government to ask the rioters what they had to complain of. After much insolence they demanded certain persons among the Indians whom they said they knew to be murderers. To pacify them, one of the ringleaders was

invited to enter the barracks and point out the persons; but after a strict scrutiny he could not discover one whom he could charge with any crime. They then gave out that the Quakers had secretly removed six of the Indians to a place of security. This was also investigated, and found to be false; the fact is, their real object was first to murder the poor Indians, and then taking advantage of the general consternation, to overthrow the government.

The present situation of the Indians, though rendered as easy as possible, was a hard trial, and to many seemed little better than imprisonment. Their confinement had continued so long that their health suffered, and many were low spirited; some of the younger people became even refractory, and as the summer advanced, fevers, and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which caused such dread and horror, that many meditated their escape from the barracks. On the 4th July, however, poor Renatus, who had

been falsely imprisoned under a charge of murder, was, after a full investigation, acquitted by the jury, to the great satisfaction of all.

On the 4th December, 1764, peace was once more proclaimed, and the Brethren at Bethlehem seriously considered, in what manner to provide a settlement for the believing Indians, where they might enjoy more safety. The Indians who had been so long in the barracks, after a troublesome journey, arrived at Nain, whence, as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made, they were to set off for Wyalusing on the Susquehannah. Wagons were provided, but their journey was attended by numberless difficulties. They were often obliged to make long circuits to avoid the enmity of many white people. They also met with stormy weather and snow, and were obliged to keep up fires all night in the woods. Hunting was their chief support. They carried the loads which were put in the wagons, over

the hills, in small parcels. In some parts they cut their way for miles through the woods. The Brethren waded and swam across brooks and rivers; but for the women and children they cut down trees and constructed rafts with great labour. In some places they were compelled to encamp on the banks, till they could build canoes. They also suffered from hunger. When their whole stock of provisions failed, they were reduced to live upon wild potatoes, and even the bark of trees. They had frequently no other drink but the muddy water they found in puddles. Some died upon the journey. But during all these afflictions, they never lost their cheerfulness and resignation, and when at last they arrived at Wyalusing, on the 9th May, after a journey of five weeks, they forgot all their pain and trouble, for joy that they had reached the place of their future abode.

Thus ended in 1765, the painful pilgrimage of the Indian congregation, which

commenced with their flight from Wechquetank and Nain in 1763: and all declared, with one accord, that unless God had spread his wings over them, they never would have lived to see that happy day. Unto him, therefore, they gave all the glory.

CHAPTER XIII.

As a mariner rejoices, who, after a long and severe storm, has reached his desired haven; so did the Indian congregation and her faithful teachers rejoice. They pitched upon a convenient spot on the banks of the Susquehannah, and built a regular settlement, which they called Friedenshuetten, (Tents of Peace.) It consisted of thirteen Indian huts and upwards of forty houses, built of wood, after the European manner, covered with shingles, and provided with windows and chimneys. A small

dwelling was erected for the missionaries, and in the middle of the street, which was eighty feet broad, stood the neatly built chapel. During the building of Friedenshuetten, it was delightful to see, with what cheerfulness, order and industry, the work proceeded. Some were employed in building houses; others in clearing lands; some in hunting and fishing, for those who worked; and others cared in the details for the housekeeping. Hundreds of persons attracted by the reports concerning this settlement, resorted thither, and heard the truths of the Gospel for the first time.

Wishing to live here in peace and safety, the Christian settlement soon sent to the chief of Cayuga, who was also at the head of the Iroquois, to inform him that the Governor of Pennsylvania had defended them against the rage of the white people, had provided them with food for a whole year, and had approved of their present settlement, if their uncle, the chief of the Iroquois, would also approve

of it. The messengers were very graciously received by the chief, who immediately made known their request to the Great Council at Onondago. The answer which they at length received, threw the whole congregation into great distress; because it was proposed that they should rather settle near the upper end of Cayuga Lake. Four deputies, accompanied by Brother Zeisberger, went to Cayuga, where their success was so great, that the Council gave them a larger tract of land than they desired, extending beyond Tioga.

Their joy at the unexpected success was soon disturbed by an Iroquois Indian, who declared that the Cayuga chief had been reprimanded for what he had done, and that it was contrary to the wish of the Iroquois nation. Brother Zeisberger went to Bethlehem for advice; and the Brethren desired him to make a journey to Onondago, which he accordingly did, in company with Brother Senseman, and an Indian brother. After enduring many hard-

ships, they arrived, 26th October, 1766, at Onondago, where they were well received. On the following day, the council was called, and Zeisberger made a long address, to which they paid the strictest attention. An exchange of kind offices followed, and the council, according to their custom, referred his message to a future deliberation, promising an answer.

Zeisberger and some of his party made use of this interval to visit Cayuga, and on the road met with a dangerous passage over the outlet of a large lake, which was remarkably deep, crossing it upon two slender trees, which bent so much under them, that they were up to their knees in water. On their arrival, they had a conversation with the chief, by which they learned that the alarming account which had been the occasion of their toilsome journeys was utterly false, and in a few days after they received the answer of the council, confirming the acts of their head chief of Cayuga. However, they had

no occasion to repent what they had done; because, by the deliberate declaration of the great council of the Iroquois, the Brethren received for the first time legal permission to preach the Gospel among them.

An extraordinary number of Indian visiters flocked from all quarters to Friedenshuetten, and were much struck with the beauty of the place, and the regularity with which every thing was conducted. Many who had strayed, during the troubles of war, now returned and were gladly received, and numerous proofs were constantly given of the influence of Christianity.

Evils, however, insensibly grew up, and the fear of having some of their young people seduced by the strangers who often made long visits, compelled them to adopt strict rules with regard to their visiters, and some of the oldest and most respected members of the congregation appointed to enforce them. Another perplexity arose from the rum trade. Frequent attempts

had been made to introduce it, and it required the most watchful care to prevent casual visiters from bringing it into the place. The white traders also gave them very great trouble and tried very hard to make Friedenshuetten a place of common resort.

In this year, a solemn deputation arrived, sent by the Delawares on the Ohio, representing many Indian nations. Their view was to establish a general peace among all the Indian nations. The Indians of Friedenshuetten agreed to it of course, and gave a string of wampum in confirmation.

CHAPTER XIV.

Friedenshuetten increased so fast, and the numbers who attended constantly were so great, that, in January, 1767, they began to build a more spacious church, which

being completed by the 18th February, was consecrated to the service of God. The Christian Indians were always willing to feed the hungry; nor did they even complain at the imposition of some, who, abusing their generosity, ate up their provisions, leading an idle and profligate life, without ever attending to the word of God.

Brother Zeisberger, hearing that some Indians on the Ohio were desirous of receiving the Gospel, set out with several others on a visit to Goshgoshink, on 30th September, though he every where was cautioned against the inhabitants. He was not intimidated either by these accounts, or the dangers and difficulties of the way, a detail of which would hardly be believed. They had frequently to cross over plains many miles in extent, overgrown with such high grass, that a man on horseback was completely covered with it; and when either dew or rain had fallen, our travellers were wet through. The further

they penetrated, the more horrid the wilderness appeared; and it cost them immense labour to work their way through the thicket. Upon their arrival at the first Seneca town, the appearance of a white man was so uncommon, that they sent thirty miles to the next town to announce it to the chief. At first the chief spoke roughly, but after much conversation he became quite friendly, and assured Zeisberger, that he at first had suspected him as a spy sent by the whites. On the 16th October, they reached the place of destination, where, to their great surprise, they were lodged in the house of a relative of one of the Christian Indians who was of the party.

The whole town seemed to rejoice at the novelty of this visit; the missionary preached the glad tidings of salvation to them, and it seemed as if many could never be satified in hearing the great truths of religion explained. Still Brother Zeisberger found that the evil reports he had

heard about the people, were, alas! too true. He had never yet seen the abominations of heathenism practised in such a degree, and the people were under the baleful influence of certain preachers of their own, who promulgated the most destructive doctrines. With these Zeisberger had many controversies; but the council, at his departure, even requested that a missionary might be sent to reside permanently among them. The report made of his journey, when he returned to Friedenshuetten, caused universal joy, and he soon set out for Bethlehem to give an account of the state of affairs on the Ohio.

In February, 1768, intelligence was received, that a white man had murdered ten Indians near Shomokin. The congregation was exceedingly alarmed, lest the Indian nations should join and revenge this horrid act, which, of course, would render the condition of their teachers extremely perilous; for to have a white skin was sufficient whenever the Indians deter-

mined to revenge a murder committed by the white people, upon an Indian. Great exertions were made on the part of government; the various chiefs were all summoned to an amicable covention, and hostilities were fortunately prevented.

It was now resolved that Brother Zeisberger should go again to Goshgoshink, with Brother Senseman and several Indian families, and endeavour to establish a regular mission. After a laborious and perilous journey of five weeks through the wilderness, they arrived at the place and were well lodged. The missionary now embraced every opportunity of preaching the Gospel. All these meetings were attended by great numbers, and it was curious to see so many assembled to hear the word of God, with faces painted black, and vermilion, and heads decorated with feathers and fox tails.

The Brethren now resolved to build a block-house for themselves, and they chose a spot near the town. In their work they

were assisted by the inhabitants, some of whom even erected their own huts around the missionary's dwelling. However successful the mission appeared to be in the first instance, many secret or open adversaries soon began to disturb their prosperity. Evil reports were raised against the brethren. Preachers opposed the Gospel, and the sorcerers endeavoured to frighten the people. It was even said that as soon as the brethren had sufficient power, and the baptized Indians were superior in number, they would kill all the unbaptized. Things, at last, got to such a pitch that the lives of the Brethren were every moment in danger, and they were even surrounded constantly with a guard of friends. The missionary never omitted to preach the Gospel, relying on the Lord for safety and defence; and it is worthy of remark, that at this very time, when they were daily threatened with death, their serious remonstrances had so good an effect, that the rum trade was entirely

stopped. Had not this been the case, the Brethren would have found it impossible to remain.

CHAPTER XV.

At the request of the inhabitants of Tschechschequannink, a town about thirty miles above Friedenshuetten on the Susquehannah, Brother Rothe was sent to reside amongst them to preach the Gospel. In Friedenshuetten, also, the labours of the Brethren were crowned with success, and many in both places were brought to a knowledge of the truth. From the chiefs who now visited them, the Brethren learned with certainty that the Iroquois had sold to the English the lands which they had given to the congregation. They therefore sent deputies to Philadelphia, to obtain a new grant of the land from the Governor of Pennsylvania. To this they

received a satisfactory answer in writing, assuring them that they should not be disturbed, and that the surveyors had orders not to take up any land within five miles of Friedenshuetten. However, they were frequently annoyed by Europeans, who pretended that the Governor had either sold or given the land, and contrary to the orders received, even the surveyors came to measure the land, and were with difficulty convinced of their error.

Towards autumn of this year (1769,) the congregation suffered very much from want of provisions. The little they had left, was consumed by visiters and travellers. It was very affecting to see families of five or six children without food, obliged to go ten or a dozen miles from home in quest of bilberries. Happily no one perished from hunger. "The barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail." 1 Kings xvii. 16.

In Goshgoshink the Brethren had this year cause both for joy and sorrow. Many

were brought to the knowledge of God; while the powers of darkness exerted themselves with renewed force against this growing mission. The hostility of the Indian preachers became extremely violent. They raved in a furious manner, and committed the most heathenish abominations, even in presence of the Brethren. At length, the rum-trade was forcibly introduced, and this the believing Indians and Brethren considered as a sign from the Lord for their departure.

The congregation chose Lawunakhannek, a small town on the opposite side of the Ohio, about fifteen miles higher. Their view was not to establish a regular mission-settlement, but only to dwell here for a time, till matters should be better settled. Among their numerous visiters at this place was Glikkikan, an eminent warrior and counsellor of the Delawares, who had determined to confound the Brethren, but was himself so influenced by the truths

of Christianity that he became a firm believer.

In their new settlement they were so much distressed for want of provisions that Brother Zeisberger was obliged to visit Pittsburg in July, where he was so fortunate as to procure a supply. At this place the missionary found the greatest consternation prevailing for fear of an Indian war. Some treacherous Seneca Indians had murdered several whites and committed other outrages. An opinion thus prevailed that all the Indian nations had broken the articles of peace. But Brother Zeisberger, who was better acquainted with the state of Indian affairs, advised the Governor and officers to lay aside their resolution of considering all the Indian nations as enemies, and to send delegates to the various tribes and complain of the Senecas. This advice was taken, and it was followed by good results; for the Senecas were declared enemies, and all the other Indians friends of the English.

The period so long and so eagerly look-

ed for by the missionaries at length arrived, when the first baptism took place on the Ohio. The persons baptized consisted of a married couple and their child, and the happy consequences were so manifest, that the Brethren were richly rewarded for all their sorrows and afflictions.

Every thing went on in a satisfactory manner at Lawunakhannek, where there was not a house in which the Gospel was not preached. It is related that a stranger Indian was conveying a barrel of rum to Goshgoshink for sale, but calling at Lawunakhannek by the way, he heard the Gospel, and immediately resolved to stay with the Brethren, and alter his way of life. He returned the rum he had bought from a trader at Pittsburg, declaring he would neither drink nor sell any more rum, *as it was against his conscience.*

About this time a singular circumstance happened, which occasioned another emigration. The Cherokees caught two Se-

necas, cut off their fingers, and sent them to their nation, saying, that because they would not hold on to the chain of friendship with their hands, therefore, they cut them off. It should be observed, that the Senecas had previously murdered some of the Cherokees, and thus hostilities commenced.

The resolution to depart was received with joy, and all hands were employed in building canoes, and preparing for the journey. They set out on the 17th April, 1770, in sixteen canoes, passing down the river Ohio, by Pittsburgh, to the mouth of the Beaver Creek, which they entered. Here they met Glikkikan with some horses, which was a providential aid, in conveying their goods and canoes by land past the falls.

The site of the new town was well chosen, all the formalities usual on such occasions with the neigbhouring Indians were duly observed, and the place was called *Laguntoulenuenk*, or Friedens-

stadt, the Town of Peace. Glikkikan now desired to dwell with the Brethren, and although they endeavoured to dissuade him, begging him to consider that he would exchange honour, power and friends, for reproach and persecution, yet he was firm and sincere, and they could not refuse his request.

On the 28th October, the missionary, John George Jungman and wife, arrived to take charge of the congregation, and Brother Senseman returned to Bethlehem, having been a faithful and useful assistant to Zeisberger, with whom he had willingly shared distress and danger. In Friedensstadt a general awakening had taken place, and the missionaries were more particularly rejoiced to see Glikkikan, and another chief named Genaskund among the most humble and contrite. They were both baptized on the 24th December, and remained living and distinguished examples of the divine truth of that Gospel they professed.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Brethren began to be convinced that the congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tschechschequanink would not be able to maintain themselves long in those places, partly, because the Iroquois had sold the land, and various troublesome demands upon them were continually renewed, partly on account of a contest between the New Englanders and the Indians of Wajomick, by which Friedenshuetten was much disturbed by reason of its vicinity. Besides this, the Senecas by their bad behaviour, gave them much trouble. One of the most powerful arguments in favour of their emigration was this, that the number of European settlers daily increased, both above and below Friedenshuetten, and the rum-trade tended to seduce the young people. A final resolution was therefore taken, to advise the Indian con-

gregation, to accept the proposal repeatedly made to them, to remove to the Ohio. The advice was immediately taken by both congregations. They resolved to move in the following spring, and first to go to Friedensstadt. In the mean time some families went on immediately to lay out plantations of Indian corn.

In this year, 1771, the Susequehannah overflowed its banks to such a degree, that all the inhabitants of the upper town on the Susequehannah, were obliged to save themselves in boats; and the repairs of this inundation cost them much trouble and expense. Many persons followed the Brethren from Goshgoshink on the Ohio, to Beaver Creek, some of whom promising to live in conformity to the rules of the congregation, obtained leave to live at Friedensstadt.

The most daring falsehoods were propagated by the savages, who even counterfeited letters and messages from various chiefs, for the express purpose of annoy-

ing the Brethren. Rumors of war began to be circulated, and Friedensstadt was surrounded by troops of savages, who were riotous and drunken, and even threatened to put to death all the inhabitants. Brother Zeisberger was often in danger of being shot, and on one occasion a party of malicious persons came late in the evening and would positively compel the inhabitants to get drunk. When they found all their efforts vain, they threatened to murder first the teachers, and then the whole congregation.

About this time the Brethren received a kind message from the chief and council living at the head waters of the Muskingum, inviting them and the two congregations on the Susquehannah to come and settle in their country, near the river Muskingum, upon whatever tracts of land they pleased. It was now resolved that Brother Zeisberger should previously make a journey to consult and settle every thing relating to this affair with the

chiefs, which he accordingly did, and on his return, having arranged every thing to the satisfaction of all parties, set out with several families, and after a safe but tedious journey, arrived on the third of May at the new land on the Muskingum. Here Zeisberger immediately began to preach the Gospel, he gave it the name of Shoenbrunn (Beautiful Spring,) and on the 27th June, the Brethren partook of the holy communion.

In the mean time preparations were made for their emigration. The Iroquois were very much displeased when they heard of it, and endeavoured to make the Christian Indians forget their treachery by fair words and promises. On the 11th June, all was ready, and the company consisting of 240 persons, proceeded with great cheerfulness. Brother Ettwein conducted those who went by land, and Brother Rothe those by water. This journey was a practical school of patience. The fatigue attending the emigration of so many

persons, through such a country, with all their goods and cattle, can hardly be conceived. The land travellers had 70 head of cattle and a greater number of horses to care for, and had to force their way through thick woods and swamps, thickets and pathless wilds. It rained almost incessantly. In one part of the country they were obliged to wade thirty-six times through the windings of the river Munsy.

The party which went by water were every night obliged to sleep on shore, where they suffered much from cold. They suffered also from sickness, and were often molested by inquisitive and drunken people. The many falls and dangerous rapids in the Susequehannah caused immense trouble, and frequent delays. However, by God's blessing they passed safe by Shamokin or Sunbury, beyond which they joined the land-travellers on the 29th of June, and now proceeded all together by land.

At the mountains their difficulties in-

creased. They had not horses sufficient, and the rattle-snakes kept them in constant alarm. Brother Ettwein happened to tread upon one with fifteen rattles, but without being harmed; several horses, however, were destroyed by them. They were also troubled by various tormenting insects. In some places the woods were almost impenetrable. Brother Ettwein was once in danger of losing his life by a fall from his horse, and the wife of Brother Rothe fell several times from her horse with her child, and once her foot was dangerously entangled in the stirrup.

On the 29th of July, they arrived on the banks of the Ohio, where they immediately commenced building canoes, and a few days after Brother Heckewelder and some Indian Brethren arrived with horses, by means of which they reached Friedensstadt on the 5th of August. Here they were received with every mark of affection by the whole congregation, who joined them in praising and thanking the Lord

for his grace and protection during their journey of eight weeks, for giving them health and strength to sustain their grievous trials, and for protecting them from famine, innumerable dangers and unforeseen accidents.

Soon after their arrival in Friedensstadt Zeisberger came from Shoenbrunn, and several conferences were held concerning the mission in general. Several of the Brethren then visited the Indians by whose invitation they had come to the Muskingum, in order to procure renewed assurances from the council, and to inform them that they intended to build one, or perhaps two settlements besides Shoenbrunn. The speaker of the deputation (an Indian of the name of Papunhawk, who had been a heathen preacher and was now a sincere convert) took the opportunity to give the council a full explanation of the sentiments, constitution, doctrines and worship of the converted Indians. The answer of the council was kind. Some time after a great

part of the Indian congregation went from Friedensstadt to the Muskingum, and built a settlement about ten miles below Shoenbrunn, which they called Gnadenhuetten.

During the building of these two places, Brother Zeisberger, with two Indian Brethren, made the first journey into the country of the Shawanose, who were generally considered as the most savage among the Indian nations. Their reception was unexpectedly kind, their preaching was listened to with the most devout attention, and on the eve of their departure they received a message from the chiefs and council, which concluded with these encouraging words, "We therefore desire and pray, that not only believing Indians, but also white teachers would dwell among us, that they may teach us how to be saved."

Zeisberger promised to lay their request before the Brethren at Bethlehem, but desired them maturely to consider whether they were in earnest, in wishing

to live conformably to the Gospel, adding that they would be obliged to forsake all their heathenish practices. They declared not only their willingness to part with every thing in preference to the Gospel, but assured him they would build a new town, where only those should reside who had resolved to believe in God.

CHAPTER XVII.

The congregations at Shoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten being surrounded by savage tribes, were obliged to walk with circumspection, lest their young people, or newly baptized converts, should be seduced by the intrigues of their neighbours, or drawn into political affairs.

The situation of Friedensstadt became more alarming than ever. The savages encroached daily, and the rum trade became an insupportable evil. Sometimes

they would bring a great quantity of rum close to the town, and there drink and rave like madmen. In this state of intoxication they frequently entered the town, and the inhabitants were obliged to fasten their shutters, and burn candles by day, as the drunken savages broke all the windows that were left open. It was certainly owing to the gracious providence of God, that they were protected, for it happened several times, when they were fully bent upon mischief, that they quarrelled among themselves and mutilated each other with their knives. One day a savage came running into the settlement exclaiming that he would kill the white man, meaning the missionary. He proceeded at full speed to Brother Rothe's, burst open the door, and entered the room like an enraged wild beast. The missionary, who was sick in bed, sat up, and in silence looked with great calmness at the savage, which so discomposed him, that he stopped short, and was soon after seized by

the Indian Brethren who came to their teacher's relief.

It became necessary now to quit the place, and on the 13th of April, the believing Indians with their teachers set out in twenty-one canoes, down the Beaver Creek to the Ohio, proceeding to the mouth of the Muskingum, and up that river to Gnadenhuetten and Shoenbrunn. Brother John Heckewelder accompanied those who went by water; but many went by a direct route across the country with Brother Rothe. The journey lasted three weeks, and not a day past but they found cause to thank God for his gracious help. Soon after arrival they were comfortably fixed in their new abode.

External troubles, however, were not wanting. The Iroquois were intriguing to force the Indian nations into a war with the English. Petty wars of the Indian tribes still continued, and great confusion generally prevailed. A proposal was even made by the Delawares to send a deputa-

tion over the great ocean, to the king of England, to desire that he would make peace between the implacable Iroquois and Shawanose; and, at the same time to beg his majesty to inform them, which of all the Christian persuasions under his government was the best, that they might arrive at some certainty concerning that point. A question which the king was as little qualified to settle as any body else, and one which showed any thing but a love of God and a desire to know the truth; they who love God and seek him sincerely, find little trouble about this matter, while the infidel and the savage make it an objection to Christianity. The great question is, "What shall I do to be saved?" Let this be settled in the heart of the sinner, and he will have little difficulty in deciding for himself with whom to worship, and whose peculiar faith conforms most with his own views of truth. It was not the Christian Indians who made this inquiry, nor they who made it their object to

"seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," but the wild and untamed savage; and this might appear to these people a greater difficulty than it can be even to unbelievers in Christian lands, who see these great divisions united in carrying on the grand objects of Christian benevolence and enterprise, by which the light of the Gospel is shed abroad upon the hearts of men.

In September, Zeisberger, Glikkikan and another visited again the Shawanose; but their reception was unlike the first, and it was quite evident that the chief and the people were so exasperated against the whites, that no mission could at present be established among them.

The year 1774 was one of trial. War raged between the Virginians and the Cherokees, Shawanose and Senecas. The Indians determining to kill all the whites, the Delawares were obliged to hide the white traders, and the Indians of Shoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten kept a strict

watch for fear of an attack on the missionaries. The exertions made by the Delaware nation to preserve peace, exposed them to the hatred and derision of the other tribes. The two settlements were in imminent danger, and would inevitably have been destroyed, had not God in his mercy protected both with his almighty hand.

The missionaries were obliged to fly to Bethlehem, and the rumours of war and peace, which varied every day for months, kept the believing Indians in distressing suspense and danger. At length the English government were obliged to march troops into the field. They attacked the Shawanose, defeated them, took many prisoners, and burnt several of their towns. But as they still refused to make peace, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, marched into their country and compelled them to submit, taking hostages as security for peace.

A day of public thanksgiving was ap-

pointed on the 6th of November for this joyful event, and the missionaries were happy to find, that in the midst of these troubles, the internal establishment of the congregations had rather gained than lost ground. A striking contrast was exhibited between the believing Indians and the savages. The former, though frequently interrupted, continued in their usual habits of industry, &c. while the latter neglected every thing on account of the war.

The missionaries found a firm friend in an Indian of the name of White Eye, first captain among the Delawares. This man kept the chiefs and council in awe, and would not suffer them to injure the Brethren, being in his own heart convinced of the truths of the Gospel. He likewise declared that no prosperity would attend the Indian affairs, till they received the word of God, sent by the Brethren. This exposed him to great reproach and sufferings, and his greatest enemy was the old chief Netawatwees, who with many others

had declared that they would never hear and believe the word of God. White Eye was firm, and demanded that the Christian Indians should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, and the teachers be protected in safety. Finding his remonstrances vain, he separated himself from his nation, who were surprised and alarmed, because they considered his presence absolutely necessary. They accordingly commenced a negotiation, the result of which seemed providential; for the old chief Netawatwees not only acknowledged the injustice done to Captain White Eye, but changed his mind with respect to the believing Indians and their teachers, and remained their constant friend till his death.

Captain White Eye now repeated the proposal which had been formerly rejected; and the council agreeing to it, an act was made in the name of the whole Delaware nation in favour of the Gospel, and promising liberty and protection to the believing Indians and their teachers. At

the end of this year Gekelemukpechuen was forsaken by its inhabitants, and a new town built on the east side of the Muskingum, opposite to the confluence of the Wahalding. This town was called Goschachguenk, and Netawatwees chose it for his future residence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The rest enjoyed by the congregation in the year 1775, was peculiarly pleasing, and much favoured the visits of strangers, who came in such numbers, that the chapel at Shoenbrunn, which might contain about 500 hearers, proved too small.

In this year the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies (as our country was then called,) had risen to such a height, that the disturbances reached the Muskingum and Ohio. The Indian mission was brought to an extraordinary dilemma by

this war, and it is incredible, with what circumspection the missionaries were obliged to act, not to offend either the English or Americans, or the various Indian nations inclining to one or the other party. In October and November, a treaty of peace was set on foot at Pittsburg, with the six nations, which did not fully succeed, and soon after a message came from Goschachguenk to Shoenbrunn, to desire that a third settlement might be made, the deputies proposing two places. After due deliberation a spot was chosen about three miles below Goschachguenk, on the east side of the Muskingum, and called Lichtenau, where in a short time they built a town and settled it, being assisted by the Brethren of Gnadenhuetten, and large parties of friendly Indians.

The believing Indians, consisting at the close of 1775, of 414 persons, lived now in three settlements, not far asunder, and a constant intercourse subsisted between them. Many were added to the church,

and the affairs of the mission may be considered to have been, at this period, in a most prosperous state. But externally, they were greatly embarrassed. They received various messages from all quarters, in the name of his Britannic majesty, from the American Congress, and also from Indian nations. These and various rumours perplexed them not a little. Being resolved at all events not to meddle with the war, they saw plainly that they should stand, as it were, between three fires, the English, the Americans, and those Indian nations who were displeased with their neutrality. But their greatest concern was on account of their teachers, who in case of an Indian war, must either fly and leave their congregations, or every day be in danger of losing their lives.

The missionaries, however, resolved to stay with the people committed to their care, though surrounded with danger; for about this time the Hurons and Mingoes came into the vicinity and murdered

eleven whites. One morning brother Heckewelder was not a little alarmed on opening his house door, to find some of these savages standing before it. Some Indian brethren came to his assistance, and they owned that they came in search of white people, but did not mean to kill their teachers.

It now became evident why the providence of God had placed Lichtenau so near to Goschachguenk; for the believing Indians could neither have defended themselves nor their teachers, had they not been protected by the chiefs of the latter place. One circumstance was very perplexing. The Delaware chiefs received letters from Pittsburg and other places, which they being unable to read, would get the missionaries to explain. It would have been not only unkind, but even dangerous to refuse the request, as the chiefs would have had occasion to doubt their friendship. Innocent as their compliance was, the missionaries wished much to be

spared this office, fearing lest people, who knew not the nature of the business, might suspect that they were themselves carrying on a correspondence with the Americans. The prejudice of the English, and the event proved their fears to be just.

In the mean time the Hurons continued their ravages in all places attached to the American cause. The Delaware chiefs, more concerned than ever for the safety of the missionaries, invited them to Goschachguenk, that they might protect the white brethren in their own town. But they did not think the step necessary, trusting to the Lord, who had preserved them in so many dangers under the shadow of his wings.

Various unsuccessful attempts were made to drag the Delawares into the war, and the Governor of Fort Detroit and the Huron chief could not comprehend why they were so firm in maintaining peace. At last it was ascribed to the influence of the missionaries, and it was ascertained some

time after, that at that very time, a proposal was made to seize them, and carry them to Fort Detroit.

CHAPTER XIX.

In the year 1777, the troubles increased. Accounts were now received that the savages intended first to massacre the white people, and then all those Indians who had not joined in the war. The chiefs of the Delawares remained firmly resolved not to interfere; but the Monsys, one of their tribes, was secretly contriving to separate from the nation, and join the Mingoes. They endeavoured first to gain a party among the enemies of the mission, and at last commenced their intrigues in the settlements. Newallike, a distinguished chief, was one of the first in Shoenbrunn who was seduced back to heathenism, pretending that he had long endeavoured to

believe, but was now convinced that the Christian doctrine was a fable.

The bad example of Newallike was followed by many, and a strong party of apostates at once sprung up in Shoenbrunn, who caused great distress to the servants of God, when they found all their efforts to bring back these poor backsliders, utterly vain. Added to this, intelligence was received that the savages, in league with the apostates, were on their way to attack Shoenbrunn. On the 19th of April, brother Zeisberger delivered his last discourse in the town, the chapel was pulled down, and they departed with sorrowful hearts to take refuge in Gnadenhuetten and Lichtenau.

A variety of treaties were entered into during this year by the conflicting parties, but the hopes of peace were entirely defeated in consequence of a party of the Americans having fired into a body of Senecas who came to attend a treaty. The Hurons offered the Delawares the great

war belt three times, and were refused by them, declaring at the same time, that they had promised, that as long as the sun should shine and the rivers flow, they would not fight against the whites. The Hurons were greatly displeased, and nothing appeared more probable, than that the Delawares, and of course the Christian settlements, would soon be attacked by the surrounding savages. The lives of the missionaries being in such danger, it was resolved that some of them should return, and the brothers Heckewelder and Jungman, parted with their beloved flock and reached Bethlehem in safety.

The day after their departure news arrived at Lichtenau, that 200 Huron warriors, commanded by their so-called Half-King, were approaching. This was very alarming, but the brethren determined to show no signs of fear, but to try to gain them over by a kind reception. Abundance of provisions was prepared, and when the Hurons perceived great numbers of per-

sons coming out to meet them, and carrying food, they were both surprised and pleased. Next followed a solemn deputation to the Half-King, Glikkikan being spokesman. The event was truly pleasing. The answer of the Half-King soon set their hearts at rest. He assured them that nothing should harm them, and bade them obey the instructions of their teachers. The Half-King then visted Lichtenau, where they were also most richly entertained. The consequence was that he sent messengers to the English Governor at Detroit, and to the Huron chiefs, giving an account of the covenant made with the believing Indians, and adding, that his warriors had acknowledged the white brethren to be their fathers, and would ever own them as such.

Zeisberger and Edwards were left alone to serve two congregations, twenty miles asunder; yet they could plainly perceive how great a favour the Lord had conferred upon them, in giving so favourable a turn

to their affairs. Without this covenant with the Huron warriors, their very lives would have been in danger; and now they could go about even to the wildest savages, who treated them with respect and kindness.

The maintenance of so many people became a grievous burden, and the inhabitants were glad to see them depart, especially as so much rum had been brought from Pittsburg, that the country around became one scene of drunkenness, riot and uproar.

Towards Autumn a dreadful account was received, that an American general had arrived at Pittsburg, who denied quarter to any Indian whether friend or foe, being resolved to destroy them all. This made the Delawares at length take up arms, alleging that they must die, whether they fought or not. On September 23, late at night, another message arrived from an American general, assuring the Delawares that they had nothing to fear, and the

chiefs returned now to their former system of peace.

In October a troop of American freebooters went, contrary to the express orders of the governor of Pittsburg, to destroy the Delaware towns, and the missionary settlements. They were defeated by Half-King, who fell in with them accidentally, and killed the greatest part of them.

During this period of confusion and calamity, when the spirit of murder and the power of darkness greatly prevailed, the work of God proceeded unmolested among the Christian Indians. The public preaching of the gospel at Lichtenau was so numerously attended that there was want of more accommodation. Many were baptized and received as members of the congregation.

CHAPTER XX.

The war still continued, from 1778 to the middle of 1781, and consisted chiefly of small excursions, which though very troublesome, did not materially interrupt the congregation. The missionaries and their people were often affected, when on the return of the savage warriors from their murderous expeditions, they saw them leading prisoners of both sexes, some of whom were wounded, and some small children; or carrying dead bodies and scalps through the settlement.

Amongst a group of prisoners on one occasion, were seen an old man of venerable appearance, and two youths. The Christian Indians greatly commiserated the former, and offered a large sum to the warriors for his release, but in vain. When they got home the two young men were tortured and burnt alive. The old man.

was condemned to suffer the same treatment, but being informed of it by a child, he escaped, seized a horse and fled to the woods. The savages pursued him, but without success. At the end of 10 days he was almost famished, having eaten nothing but grass during that time, when an Indian brother found him lying in the woods more like a corpse than a living creature. He was well nursed at Lichtenau and recovered.

The greatest exertions were made to persuade or frighten the Delawares into war, but in vain. By their neutrality many other nations were kept quiet, not being willing to offend the Delaware nation, whom they called grandfather. The governor at Pittsburg admitted that the deportment of the Indian congregation was a benefit conferred upon the country at large; and it was observed that the fury of the Indian warriors was greatly mitigated through their influence.

The perpetual vexations to which the

Delawares were exposed, at length exhausted their patience. The United States, the title which the colonies had assumed, began now to call upon the Delawares to make war against the Indians in the English interest. This caused the chiefs to waver in their resolutions, and at length they resolved to join the English. At the same time they became the enemies of the missionaries and of the Christian Indians.

About this time the Brethren experienced numerous instances of the preservation of God. A party was to have been sent from Detroit to carry off the missionaries, but the design was frustrated by the sudden death of the commander. On another occasion a false report prevented another body from taking the route they at first intended for the same purpose. Nevertheless, all the accounts received about this time agreed on this point, that the destruction of the Indian congregations was resolved upon, and it was the occasion of

much backsliding. The political divisions among the Delawares, too, increased daily.

Lichtenau now became too much crowded, and a resolution was taken to return to Gnadenhuetten, and to rebuild Shoenbrunn, not on the same spot, but on the opposite bank of the Muskingum. The building of this place was extremely troublesome. The part of the congregation which had gone thither with Zeisberger, dwelt, for the greater part of the year in huts, and met to worship in the open air, till at length they were enabled to occupy the new town in December 1779, and consecrate the church.

It soon became necessary to abandon Lichtenau. The people of Goschachguenk, having changed their minds with respect to the believing Indians, endeavoured to molest them in various ways. The robberies, drunkenness, and consequently outrages, became insupportable to the congregation. Added to this, the warriors made it a constant practice to pass through

the place. A spot about five miles below Gnadenhuetten was fixed upon, and the settlement called Salem.

In their new town they were molested by the now evil-minded Delaware chiefs; but the internal state of the congregation was distinguished by particular grace, and the work of God continued to increase in the midst of trouble.

Captain White Eye, who had so often advised other Indians, with great earnestness, to believe in the gospel, but had always postponed joining the believers himself, on account of his being yet entangled in political concerns, was unexpectedly called into eternity, and died of the small pox at Pittsburg. The Indian congregation, to whom he had rendered very essential services, was much affected at the news of his death, and could not but hope that God had received his soul in mercy.

In May, 1780, brother Grube, then minister of Litiz, in Pennsylvania, went to

hold a visitation in the Indian congregations. On this journey they met many difficulties and dangers. Three white men who were seeking to get Indian scalps, a large premium being then offered for them, lay in ambush near the road and shot at an Indian in brother Grube's party, but providentially the ball only passed through his shirt.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ever since the autumn of 1780, the congregation had enjoyed peace and rest; but it appears that God, for wise purposes, had ordained, that this his Indian flock, and their teachers, should give eminent proofs of Christian patience, in the most grievous tribulations. Their new calamities arose from various calumnies, by which the missionaries were represented as American spies, and the governor of Fort Detroit

determined to rid himself at once of neighbours so troublesome and dangerous. He accordingly sent a request to the great council of the Iroquois, that they would carry them away. To this they argreed, but being unwilling to lay hands on them, they sent a message to the Chippeways and Ottawas, intimating that they herewith made them a present of the Indian congregation to make soup of, which in the war language of the Indians, meant 'to murder them.' They refused the message; but as last the Half-King of the Hurons, who formerly treated the congregations so kindly, accepted the message, declaring, however, at the same time, that he only did it to save the believing Indians from total destruction. The Delaware captain, Pipe, a noted enemy of the Gospel, and whose wife was a convert, was the chief instigator in the business.

Arrangements being made, a large body of savages commanded by the Half-King, Captain Pipe, and an English officer, pitch-

ed their camp, on the 11th August, close to Gnadenhuetten. In the beginning they appeared friendly. At a meeting called for the purpose, the Half-King made a speech, in which he informed the congregations and their teachers, that it was expedient for them to remove. As the congregations did not give a definite answer, the English officer and Pipe urged him to proceed. The consequence was that the Half-King, in a rough speech, expressed great displeasure. To this another remonstrance was made, declaring that if they were compelled to travel to so distant a country before they had made good their harvest, they must certainly perish. The country to which they were going, however, had been falsely described as a paradise, and divisions began to occur among the believing Indians; some advising to go, and others declaring they would rather die on the spot.

To add to the perplexities of the congregation, some of their members proved un-

faithful, and insinuated that if the missionaries were only seized and carried off, the rest would soon follow. Besides this, the savages had very strong suspicions that they had sought for succour from the American troops at Pittsburg, and the heads of the party held several consultations, in which it was resolved to kill all the Brethren and Sisters. The only thing which prevented this catastrophe was the threats of one of their own sorcerers, whom they consulted.

The savages now became more bold and violent, committing outrages, and offering insults in such a manner, that to use the missionaries own phrase, the whole atmosphere seemed infested with evil spirits. The Half-King insisted, in a council of war, to which they were summoned, that they should instantly make answer, whether they would go with him or not. They appealed to their former answer, and immediately the three missionaries were declared prisoners of war. As they were drag-

ged off, a Huron aimed a blow at Brother Senseman's head, but missed him. A Monsy seized the missionaries by the hair, and shook them in derision, and when they were brought to the camp, the death song was sung over them.

Soon after, about thirty savages arrived at Salem in the dusk of the evening, broke open the mission house, and took Brother Jung, Sister Heckewelder and her child prisoners, the former having narrowly escaped being killed by a tomahawk. On the same night, some Hurons went to Shoenbrunn, and having plundered the church and private houses, set off with their booty and prisoners. Among the prisoners no one was more to be pitied than Sister Senseman, who had an infant born but three days before, and now with her infant was hurried away by these merciless barbarians in a dark and rainy night. Had she been too weak to follow the savages, she and her infant would have been

instantly murdered, according to their usual practice in similar cases.

For four days and nights, the prisoners suffered in the most cruel manner, during which time uproar and distress of every kind prevailed in their once peaceful and pious homes. At last, the savages were convinced that the believing Indians would never be persuaded to leave the settlements, unless they were led by the missionaries. The missionaries were then declared free, and advised to encourage the Indians to prepare for emigration.

Never did any people forsake a country with more regret. They bade a painful adieu to their three beautiful settlements, having already lost above 200 head of cattle, and 400 hogs. They left behind a quantity of Indian corn in store, and 300 acres of corn land, when the harvest was just ripening, besides their gardens of fruits and vegetables. They also lost all their books and papers, compiled with great trouble, for the instruction of youth.

The savages now drove them forward like a herd of cattle. The white Brethren and Sisters were usually in the midst surrounded by the believing Indians. The road was exceedingly bad. Sister Zeisberger fell twice from her horse, and once hanging in the stirrup, was dragged for some time. After many sorrows, they reached Sandusky Creek on the 11th October, about 125 miles from their lost homes. Here the Half-King with his Huron warriors left them without any orders or aid, and marched into his own country, and they found themselves left in the wilderness, like the children of Israel, without any certain means of subsistence, depending alone on the goodness of Almighty God. In this dreary waste, they determined to build huts to screen themselves from cold, having neither beds nor blankets, for the savages had stolen every thing on the journey. Captain Pipe boasted that he had made the believing Indians and their teachers slaves. The Half-King

informed them that they were now under his dominion and bound to go to war in his service.

But the poor persecuted people had scarcely a breathing time in this place, when a message arrived from the Governor of Detroit, requesting that Captain Pipe would conduct the teachers and some of the believing Indians to him. The Brethren were glad of an opportunity of defending themselves, and Zeisberger, Senseman, Heckewelder, and Edwards, set out, with four Indian assistants, for Fort Detroit.

They arrived on the 3d November, and were brought before the governor, who was at first displeased, having expected all the missionaries and families, whom he intended to send all together to Philadelphia. The governor informed them that the only reason of his sending for them, was because he had heard they corresponded with the Americans to the prejudice of the

English interest. The missionaries only demanded a strict investigation of the matter, and their trial was postponed till the arrival of Pipe, who was their chief accuser. But it soon became evident that God had changed the heart of this man; for after a short struggle, he confessed that the missionaries were innocent, and fully explained the innocent correspondence carried on through the missionaries, in the name of the Delaware chiefs, of which we have spoken above, and which had proved the source of so much misery.

The governor having done nothing in this whole affair, but what his duty required, now declared publicly, that the Brethren were innocent of all things laid to their charge, and with many sincere expressions of kindness and offers of aid, he permitted them to return to their anxious congregations. Both the missionaries and their Indian assistants returned thanks to God for their preservation, and they arrived

on the 22d November at Sandusky, where the joy of their families and the congregations was inexpressible

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CHAPTER XXII.

The year 1782 was big with new and severer disasters to the afflicted congregation. Famine, as was foreseen, began to spread among them. Many of the poor lived merely upon wild potatoes, and at last their hunger was such, that they greedily ate the carcasses of horses and cows which were starved to death. The savages, who visited Sandusky, expressed joy at their sufferings. At this melancholy period, the accusations of their enemies were renewed, and the result was a written order to the Hurons, to bring all the missionaries and their families to Detriot. The missionaries would rather have met death, than thus abandon their precious flock to

the wolves; but remonstrance was vain, and the whole congregation lifted up their voices in lamentation, exclaiming, they were left as sheep without a shepherd. The day before their departure, and their anguish was increased by a dreadful rumour, which proved afterwards too well founded.

This bloody catastrophe to which we allude, took place on the river Muskingum. A party of murderers, hearing that different companies of the believing Indians came occasionally from Sandusky to the settlements on the Muskingum to fetch provisions, about one hundred and sixty in number, assembled and determined first to surprise those who were then at the settlements, and then march to Sandusky to cut off the whole Indian congregation.

Meanwhile the murderers marched first to Gnadenhuetten. About a mile from the place, they met young Schebosch in the woods, and although he begged for his life, they cut him in pieces with their

hatchets. They then approached the Indians, assuring them that they would do them no harm. They even pretended to pity them, went into their houses, where they were treated in a hospitable manner, and even told their unsuspecting victims that they would carry them to Pittsburg, where they would be out of all danger. Deceived by these assurances, and ignorant of the murder of Schebosch, they gave up all their weapons, and even informed these wretches where they had secreted all their valuables, being assured that they would receive every thing back at Pittsburg. Notice was sent to Salem of the arrival of these people, who had come to afford them protection and an asylum. A party of them even went to Salem, where they pretended to have the same good will towards them also, and they easily persuaded them to return with them to Gnadenhuetten. On the road they even feigned great piety, and conversed on religious matters with seeming devoutness. On arriving, to

their astonishment, they were all seized and bound, and at a council which was immediately held over them, it was resolved by a majority of votes, to put them all to death the next day.

They were led into two houses, in one of which the brethren, and in the other the sisters and children were confined like sheep ready for slaughter. They were then informed of the terrible fate which awaited them. They protested their innocence, but bowed themselves to the will of their Father in Heaven. To him they poured out their hearts, and in prayer and praise to him, they passed their last awful night here below.

The 8th of March. The day of execution came. To the two houses in which they were confined, their wanton butchers gave the name of "slaughter houses." On their expressing some impatience at the delay, the brethren replied, that they were ready to die, and had commended their immortal souls to God, who gave them assurance of eternal rest. Imme-

diately the carnage commenced. The poor innocent people, men, women and children were led, bound two and two together with ropes into the "slaughter houses," and there scalped and killed.

Of ninety six persons, only two youths, between fifteen and sixteen years old, escaped as it were by miracle. One of them slipt unperceived through a narrow window into the cellar of the house in which the sisters were executed. Their blood ran in streams into the cellar. Here the lad remained till night, when he fled to a neighbouring thicket. The other youth's name was Thomas. The murderers struck him only one blow on the head, took his scalp, and then left him as dead. After some time he recovered his senses, saw himself surrounded by bleeding corpses. Among these he observed one brother, called Abel, moving and trying to raise himself up. But he remained as if dead, and this caution saved him; for soon after one of the murderers coming in, and observing Abel's motions, killed him out-

right with two or three blows. At night Thomas made his escape, a ghastly spectacle! The two youths afterwards met, and God enabled them to reach Sandusky. The last scene they witnessed of this awful drama, represented the inhuman actors making merry, while they set fire to the slaughter houses filled with corpses.

At such scenes the heart sickens, and while we wonder at the deep depravity of man, we should adore that merciful God who has sent to us the gospel of his Son. Such is man without the light of the Gospel; such have been men in all ages and climes where the light of God's revelation has not come to soften the heart, to correct the mind, and to lead men to the love of God and each other, and to the practice of holiness. How should we cherish that holy word, and guide all our conduct by its rules, and seek the aid of almighty God to enlighten our minds by his own truth, and to give us his spirit in our hearts!

The Indians at Shoenbrunn were providentially warned of their danger, and

having very narrowly escaped, arrived, after many perils and difficulties, safe at Sandusky. To describe the mingled horror and lamentation of the people, when they learned this cruel massacre, is impossible. They were literally stunned by the affliction. Parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, joined in the general voice of grief, and melted into one common and almost inconsolable sorrow. They did not murmur at Providence—they did not call down vengeance on their terrible foes; but their hearts healed under the consoling reflection, that their murdered relatives were translated to a better world, and they freely forgave, nay, even prayed for their cruel enemies.

We now return to the missionaries who had been summoned with their families, as we have already said, to Detroit. Soon after their departure they were informed of all the particulars of the horrid murder, the report of which they had already heard, and were filled with inexpressible anguish.

Torn, too, as they were, at the time, entirely from their beloved flock, a circumstance which, in all their former sufferings and trials had never happened, they were utterly at a loss to discern the ways of the Lord; all appeared dark and mysterious. After being detained a considerable time, and exposed to many sorrows and persecutions from their enemies, the governor of Detroit at length sent two vessels with a guard of riflemen, and orders to treat them with every possible kindness. On their arrival at Detroit he visited them, assured them, that, though many new accusations were brought against them, that he believed them innocent, and that in removing them their safety alone was consulted, for that he had received the most authentic intelligence that their lives were in danger, as long as they resided at Sandusky. He also left it to their option, to remain at Detroit, or return to Bethlehem, and gave orders that they should be supplied with every thing of which they stood in need.

The missionaries heard afterwards, ac-

cidentally, but with the truest joy, that the Indian assistants continued, during their absence, to meet and exhort the congregation, which still performed all the duties of religion. But this pleasing course was of short duration. Many troubles beset them. Among the rest the Half-King of the Hurons was so incessantly tormented by his evil conscience, that he could not rest, as long as any Christian Indians were in his neighbourhood; for their presence continually reminded him of his cruel and treacherous behaviour to them and their teachers. He therefore sent them a peremptory order to quit the country. It really seemed as if no place was left where these persecuted people could rest the soles of their feet; but they resolved patiently to submit, since it appeared to be the will of God that they should be scattered. Part went for a refuge into the country of the Shawanose; the rest resolved to proceed westward to the Miami river.

This dispersion put an end to the ex-

istence of the congregation for a time; but in this the gracious providence of God could be distinctly traced. The same gang of murderers marched in May 1782, to massacre the remnant of the congregation at Sandusky, where they found nothing but empty huts. Thus their dispersion proved their safety, and thus too it became evident that the removal of their missionaries happened by the kind permission of God. It is proper to state, that the gang of murderers fell in with a party of English and Huron warriors, who were made instruments of their punishment; for they were attacked, and the greater part cut to pieces.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The missionaries did not avail themselves of the liberty given them by the Governor of Detroit; but resolved from motives of duty and affection, to use all their exertions to gather their scattered

people. A piece of land for a settlement was offered with the consent of the Chippeways, in whose country it lay, about thirty miles from Detroit on the river Huron. The governor generously sent to all the believing Indians, inviting them to join their teachers. In the course of a short time they began to assemble from all quarters, and the Brethren, Zeisberger and Senseman, accompanied the first party to the place destined for their future residence. They arrived on the evening of 21st July, 1782, and on the following day, chose a convenient spot on the south side of the river Huron, where they marked out a new settlement, which they called Gnadenhuetten, in remembrance of their former home on the Muskingum. On November 5th, the re-assembled congregation to the number of fifty-three, met to consecrate their new church unto God, and closed this year of weeping and sorrow, with thanksgivings and praise.

In May, 1783, the missionaries received

the joyful news of peace between England and the United States, and in July, they had the pleasure to see the Brethren, Weygand and Schebosch from Bethlehem, from whom they received an account of the sympathizing share which all the Brethren both in America and Europe had taken in their afflictions. The success of the endeavours made to collect the dispersed congregation was gradual; many returned, but some could not be reclaimed from heathenism.

A most extraordinary frost set in with the year 1784. The rivers and lakes were all frozen, and the snow in some places lay five and six feet deep. As no one expected so severe and long a winter, there was not sufficient provision made for man or beast, and much suffering ensued. At length a general famine prevailed, and the hollow eyes, and emaciated countenances of the poor people, were the sad tokens of their distress. Providence in due time relieved them from this dreadful scourge, and every one once more began to smile.

Many circumstances conspired to render it adviseable for the congregation once more to abandon their sweet homes, now doubly dear, on account of the terrible scenes of trouble and calamity through which they had passed. For the Chippeways, after the peace, became dissatisfied, studied new vexations, and even threatened to murder them. Added to this, the governor would not permit them to clear any more land to build on, because nothing was yet fixed as to the territory or government. The missionaries, therefore, thought it most prudent to take steps to return to the south side of Lake Erie, and to settle near the river Wahalding. Preparations were consequently made to emigrate in the following spring.

The year 1785, which was one of great peace and prosperity, brought also a variety of contradictory reports, which rendered it inexpedient to emigrate at present, and in the mean while several of the missionaries returned to Bethlehem, leaving the mission under the care of the Bre-

thren Zeisberger, Heckewelder and Edwards. They learned that Congress had expressly reserved the district on the Muskingum to be given back to them, but the disordered state of the Indian nation, and various other impediments tended to delay removal.

In the beginning of the year 1786, they received such a hostile message from the Chippeway chief, that the missionaries resolved, notwithstanding they were threatened also by the savages beyond Lake Erie, to emigrate; and if they could not at present take possession of the settlements on the Muskingum, to settle in the first convenient place they should find. They reached Detroit without much difficulty, where they were kindly treated, and on the 28th of April, went on board of two trading vessels belonging to the North West Company, which had been generously offered them, and orders at the time given to the Captains to treat their passengers with every attention, and to run no risks.

They had a good voyage till they arrived at a certain island, where they were detained by baffling and unfavourable winds for the space of four weeks. At last, after passing an uncomfortable time upon the islands, a brisk gale wafted them swiftly towards Cayahaga, but suddenly shifting, drove them back to their old station. Most of the Indians were so sick that they lay on the deck half dead and senseless. To prevent their rolling overboard, they were fastened to the deck.

The missionaries now proposed to be landed at some nearer place, and after much trouble, one division, with Brother Zeisberger, landed about 80 miles above Sandusky bay, where they encountered excessive hardships in cutting their way through the thickets, and over the high and steep rocks. But they were all glad to set their feet on land again. On the 4th of June, the second division, with Brother Heckewelder, overtook them along the shore in their slight canoes, and they now all proceeded in a body. On the 7th

of June, they reached the celebrated rocks, which rise forty or fifty feet perpendicularly, and are in many places so undermined, that they project over the lake.

Here they landed, and being in want of provisions, continued their voyage up the river Cayahaga, till they arrived, on 18th June, at an old town about one hundred and forty miles distant from Pittsburg. They immediately set to work to make themselves as comfortable as possible; and very soon were convinced that they were in greater safety, than they would have been on the Muskingum.

The first Indian brother who departed this life at their new settlement (which was called Pilgerruh, or Pilgrim's Rest) was Thomas, the lad who made his escape after being scalped at Gnadenhuetten, as we have before described. He was drowned. Since he lost his scalp, he was afflicted with so violent a rheumatism of the head, that it frequently took away his senses. This was probably the occasion of his death, for he was an excellent swimmer,

and his body was found in shallow water. In October, 1786, Brother Heckewelder took an affecting leave of the Indian congregation, which he had served for many years with great faithfulness, and returned to Bethlehem, attended by the best wishes and prayers of all the people, by whom he was greatly beloved.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Congress continued to give the most favourable assurances to the Brethren at Bethlehem, doing all in their power to establish the believing Indians once more at their former settlements on the Muskingum; but reports had arrived that the Americans had been committing some new outrages, and so completely were the imaginations of the people terrified by the horrid massacre on the Muskingum in 1782, that they frequently, on the least alarm, fled to the thickets for concealment.

But the year 1787 was still begun under the pleasing hope that they might yet be enabled to conclude it in tranquillity on the Muskingum. New troubles however arose. Towards the close of the year they received a message from Captain Pipe, who proposed to place them in Pettquotting, far to the west of Cayahaga, and between it and the river Sandusky. In this year, at a great council of the Indians, held at Sandusky, it was resolved, that the war with the United States should begin with new vigour, and that if the Christian Indians would not of their own accord, give up the idea of settling on the Muskingum, they should be obliged to do it by force; that the missionaries should not be taken prisoners, but killed, in order to put an end at once to the mission.

Thrown thus into the greatest perplexity, they determined, after mature deliberation, to give up all thought of returning to the Muskingum for the present, and at the same time not remain on the Cayahaga; but rather to seek some spot between that

river and Pettquotting, where they might procure a peaceable and safe retreat. They set out on the 19th of April in two parties, and arrived on the 25th, at the place fixed upon for their future abode. It appeared like a fruitful orchard. They had never settled upon so good and fertile a spot. The lake abounded with fish; and wild potatoes, which are very much esteemed, grew plentifully. The brethren rejoiced at the prospect of settling in this pleasant country, especially as they would here be out of the reach of the troublesome savages.

But their joy was of short duration. They were again obliged to break up, and entering once more upon their pilgrimage, sought and found near Pettquotting, an uninhabited place, situated on a river called also Huron, which empties into Lake Erie at Pettquotting. Here they began their plantations and houses, and called the place New Salem. On the 6th of June they finished and consecrated their new chapel, and the missionaries were glad-

dened once more at the prospect of rest, which they so much needed.

They were visited by the Indians living about them, many of whom turned to the Lord.

The mission had now stood forty-five years. From a registry of the congregation dated in 1772, we learn, that up to that period 720 Indians had been added to the church. The number of the converted since that period, cannot be fixed with certainty, since all the books and writings of the congregation had been burnt on the Muskingum in 1781. It is, however, more than probable that the number was fully equal to the former, from which it would follow that one thousand four hundred and forty Indians had been converted to Christianity through the instrumentality of these faithful and much tried servants of God, and that this flock, however small, still continued a light of the Lord, shining unto many heathen nations.

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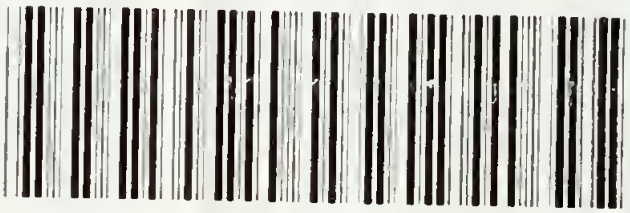

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